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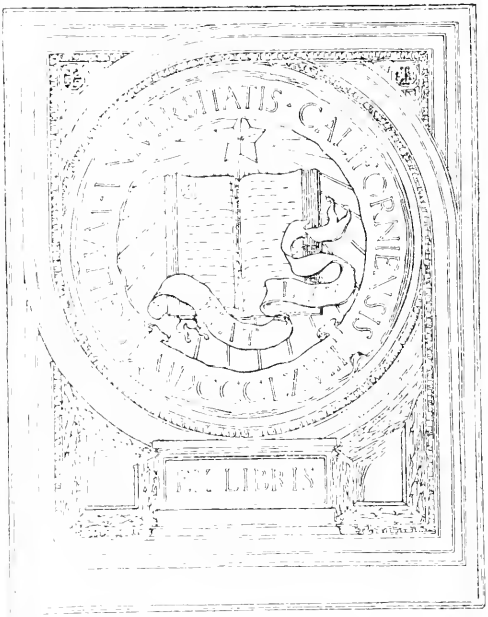

PROSPECTUS OF THE

THEOLOGICAL TRANSLATION FUND

As it is important that the best results of recent theological investigations on the Continent, conducted without reference to doctrinal considerations, and with the sole purpose of arriving at truth, should be placed within the reach of English readers, it is proposed to collect, by Subscriptions and Donations, a Fund which shall be employed for the promotion of this object. A good deal has been already effected in the way of translating foreign theological literature, a series of works from the pens of Hengstenberg, Haevernick, Delitzsch, Keil, and others of the same school, having of late years been published in English, but,—as the names of the authors just mentioned will at once suggest to those who are conversant with the subject,—the tendency of these works is for the most part conservative. It is a theological literature of a more independent character, less biassed by dogmatical prepossessions, a literature which is represented by such works as those of Ewald, Hupfeld, F. C. Baur, Zeller, Rothe, Keim, Schrader, Hausrath, Nöldeke, Pfleiderer, &c., in Germany, and by those of Kuenen, Scholten, and others, in Holland, that it is desired to render accessible to English readers who are not familiar with the languages of the Continent. The demand for works of this description is not as yet so widely extended among either the clergy or the laity of Great Britain as to render it practicable for publishers to bring them out in any considerable numbers at their own risk. And for this reason the publication of treatises of this description can only be secured by obtaining the co-operation of the friends of free theological enquiry.

It is hoped that at least such a number of Subscribers of *One Guinea Annually* may be obtained as may render it practi-

cable for the Publishers to bring out every year *three* 8vo. *volumes*, which each subscriber of the above amount would be entitled to receive. But as it is necessary to remunerate the services of a responsible Editor, and in general, to pay the translators, it would conduce materially to the success of the undertaking, if free donations were also made to the Fund; or if contributors were to subscribe for more than one copy of the works to be published.

John Tulloch, D.D.,—H. B. Wilson,—B. Jowett,—A. P. Stanley,—W. G. Clark,—S. Davidson,—James Martineau,—John Caird,—Edward Caird,—James Donaldson,—H. J. S. Smith,—H. Sidgwick,—James Heywood,—C. Kegan Paul,—J. Allanson Picton,—Robt. Wallace,—Lewis Campbell,—Russell Martineau,—T. K. Cheyne,—J. Muir.

A Committee selected from the above signataries of the original Prospectus, has agreed upon the following works to commence the series:—

Baur, Paul, his Life and Works; Baur, Christianity and the Church in the First Three Centuries.—Zeller, the Acts of the Apostles critically examined.—Ewald, Prophets of the Old Testament.—Keim, Life of Jesus of Nazara.—Kuenen, The Religion of Israel.

A General Editor has been appointed for the Series by the Committee, and several of the works selected by them are in hand beyond those now issued or in the press.

As a means of increasing the number of Subscribers it has been suggested to us, that many of the present supporters will probably be able to furnish us with lists of persons of liberal thought, to whom we would send the prospectus. We shall thankfully receive such lists.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE.

14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden,
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THEOLOGICAL

TRANSLATION FUND LIBRARY

VOL. I.

THE HISTORY

OF

JESUS OF NAZARA

By DR. THEODORE KEIM.

VOL. I.

THE HISTORY

OF

JESUS OF NAZARA.

CONSIDERED

IN ITS CONNECTION WITH THE NATIONAL LIFE OF ISRAEL,

AND RELATED IN DETAIL.

BY

DR. THEODORE KEIM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

VOL. I.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

4, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;

AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1873.

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NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

3 v

This introductory volume of Dr. Keim's Life of Jesus is translated from the German without omission or alteration, save that from the preface, and once or twice from the text, have been excised a few purely personal remarks and discussions which could have no interest in England. The notes also have been for the most part preserved, a feature which will, it may be, prove less needful in the later volumes. So few of the works to which reference is made have been translated into English, that it has seemed best to give the references in all cases to the originals; since those few who will take the trouble to turn to them will usually be able to test the references in the original languages, even if they prefer to read the bulk of such books in their own tongue.

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It is intended that the whole work shall be completed with the same literalness, and that there shall be no needless delay in the issue of succeeding volumes.

May, 1873.

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ERRATA.

Page 16.—*Note*, for "wholly starts from," read "is altogether due to."
" 34.—*Note*, for "Hadrian schen," read "Hadrianschen."
" 35.—*Line* 8, for "exorcist Syrian," read "Syrian exorcist."
" 49.—*Last note*, for "τοι," read "τοῦ."
" 71.—*Line* 3 *from bottom*, for "on," read "or."
" 72.—*Note*, for "Volkman," read "Volkmar."
" 73.—*Note* 3, for "commovens," read "commorans."
" 74.—*Last note*, for "fragn." read "fragm."
" 115.—*Line* 10, insert "the" most modern.
" 124.—*Line* 4, insert "who is" no enemy.
" 238.—*Last line*, for "once," read "since."
" 257.—*Line* 22, for "offensive," read "inoffensive."
" 260.—*Line* 21, for "14—27," read "14—37."
" 275.—*Line* 4, after "Mosaic" insert "law."

PREFACE.

When the question was urged upon me by the mouth of men whom I revered, both at home and abroad, men of science and of the church, whether it were my duty to describe the history of Jesus to the best of my abilities, my feelings were conflicting. My preference for this great department of history is of ten years' standing, since my life as a student, and my academical calling placed me in the border-land between the history of the New Testament and of the church. So that so long ago as the year 1860, at a time, therefore, when the modern christological movement was still in its dawn, and before the general impulse to write had become infectious, my intentions as to the life of Jesus had their origin.* But it is evident that of late many troubled passions have prevailed in this department. On either side, and in many ways, men are now united in demanding, not researches but results, not history but dogma, and whatever is distasteful is modified and misused. It is only the historian of modern theology, who is still unborn, who can give an account of this tendency. Whoever loves peace and quiet, honour and consideration, not to mention temporal favour, must consider, not only whether he will suffer, but whether he will become embittered or deteriorated by giving way to it. If it is found in this

* After Professor Loman, of Amsterdam, translated "Die Menschliche Entwickelung Jesu, 1861," into Dutch, Prof. Prius, of Leyden, published "Die geschichtl. Würde Jesu, 1864," in the same language. But I only learned this from Dr. Cramer. A French translation of the 4th discourse appeared in the Swiss Predigergesellschaft, to which I would draw further attention than that of Michel Nicolas in "Les actes de la Société pastorale suisse, 26 réunion, Frauenf. 1866." Nothing need now be said of the comments of German literature, since Baxmann, in his Studien und Kritiken, 1867, has noticed my sense of their value.

history, on account of the greatness of the Person and the condition of the sources, that its historical character cannot exist wholly without a hypothesis, and that, with the hypothesis, it is apparently allied on either side with dogma, although in fact only liable to its shafts, it may seem advisable to take refuge in some other department of history, which is free from conflict, and which demands an exact treatment. These considerations have also pressed upon me: those who are ready to slay and stifle have not been wanting, as well as those who give friendly greeting: on the one side the vindicators of principles, who misunderstand the historical edifice, and become hot about inconsistencies in their position of thought or feeling, on the other the apostles of sentiment, who are keen-sighted for the merits of colour, and obtuse to that which is effected by science.

My love for the cause and the feeling of duty to my office have not yielded to any warnings. I thought myself qualified in two particulars, by some historical insight, and by some freedom from prejudice, to give a modest contribution to the solution of the eternal questions of Christianity, and indeed of humanity. On the first point I am conscious that not altogether as a novice, but as one who is tolerably prepared I enter on this and other fields of history which have been mournfully abandoned: and the execution itself will, with all the imperfection of a first attempt amid scanty command of time, so far speak for itself that the comprehension, foundation, and adaptation of history to the life of Jesus will be admitted, when compared to those which have preceded it. Among these I reckon, together with Hase, Schenkel, and Weizsäcker, in their well-known works, particularly Ewald, the master of the Old Testament from whom I have learned much, orally, and from his writings, from whose account, even without critical differences, mine is distinguished by the simple fact that the history of Jesus has, in accordance with his general plan, appeared to him as only a branch of the history of Israel, while to

me, as a more restricted and concentrated task, the same life of Jesus has summed up the clearest lights of Israel. On the second point, I am undoubtedly conscious that I have not been able to refrain as completely as Strauss from preliminary statements. I have not, with so many like-minded men in Germany and Switzerland, sacrificed my heartfelt interest in the religious sphere of Christianity to a stand-point of cold neutrality, which by its very neutrality becomes a party, and which is completely unmasked in Strauss as the partizanship of the preliminary statements of philosophy. On the other hand, I suppose that submission and freedom, religion and an unreserved impulse towards truth may be so balanced in me, that neither advocate shall predominate over the other, neither side do violence to the other, and that truth may be justified by the moderate compromise which draws them together. That the old and prompt reproach will revive of a hybrid nature, of an unlawful connection, and of contradictions, which is unceasingly urged against the history that is really free from dogma, is already anticipated when we consider the men, the stand-points, the difficulties of the case, and the errors of the author: yet I hope that men will be satisfied with facts, with or without comment, with laborious proofs of which the force is not weakened by sarcasm, and that they will not suspect me of giving an ear to objections which bring forward with triumphant parade matters that have been considered long ago.

I have little to add to what I have written. To speak first of the title, I have desired to mention Jesus by the name which is hallowed by the New Testament and by history. My view of him is not bounded by his city, and I might perhaps have said, "The history of the Lord," if I could endure confessions at the corners of streets and on title-pages. But I have written Nazara, not because I would restrict him to his source, but because it does not befit a scientific work to be bound over to traditions.

It may be detected, that although my enquiry into the Gospels

stands first, that it was written last, and when I was exhausted. Yet it was not simply from a failure in the power of concentration, but purposely, that the discussion on the fourth Gospel, as the most critical enquiry, is carried on in as great detail as that on the three first Gospels put together. Such readers as are not theological may readily pass over these enquiries into our sources, although, both here and elsewhere, I have taken some pains to make them endurable. The synoptical tables do not claim to be complete: space was wanting for this, especially as to the Sayings, and also in the history of the Passion, where detail was necessary, and on this account I reserve a synoptical table of it for a later period: yet I trust that what I have given, throwing a fresh light on the most important distinctions, will to some extent give precision to our ground-plan of the Gospels. I have not uttered my last word on the Gospel question, at least as to the sources of the synoptic writers. On many points greater detail is necessary than is here possible, and in others, since going to press, I have discovered some fresh features, especially since I have gradually suspected some variety of the Hebrew Gospel in the Ebionite source of Luke, as will appear in my concluding remarks. Hilgenfeld's 4th *Fascikel* on the uncanonical gospels, unfortunately only reached me when much of my book was in type. I fully admit the weight of this learned work, yet, on the whole, I abide firmly by my conclusions, and am not prepared to recognize in the Hebrew Gospel, of which Hilgenfeld has so loudly proclaimed the praise, the "Archimedean point," and the "root" of all the Gospels, and I believe, among other instances, that the ascent of Tabor, literally suspended from a hair, the rich man scratching in his hair, as well as the mason with the withered hand who found that begging was unseemly, can only bespeak the impression of childish and comic originality. Perhaps I may have time to consider these questions in detail. Those who are concerned may accept the more vigorous demonstrations which I have in some places

made in the department of the Gospels against those who were near me, such as Holtzmann and Weizsäcker: I shall hold myself in readiness for information, and also for attacks. If it should be found that in my enquiry into the Gospels I am on some points even more at one than his school with the departed theologian of Tübingen, who is now first, after trivial depreciations, recognized in his greatness, I can only rejoice that I build up this memorial of one with whom I conversed in hours which can never be forgotten, of the life of the Lord, a memorial which is perhaps of greater value since no rational person can discover in me a craving for authority nor a tendency to party spirit. From the New Testament I have found it necessary to refer in many ways to the Old. It is not the province of my choice, but the object forbade me to shrink from it. I have sought to learn, and yet have frequently failed. I hope for consideration from those whose domain I have invaded, and indeed they must accord an indemnity so long as they themselves do not open for us the doors of the Old Testament to the New Testament more freely and widely. I have made an abundant use of Philo and Josephus in the later Jewish times. But since I have hitherto been unable to devote my life to the Talmud, I have followed the collectors who might be trusted with less reserve than Ewald. I have only made independent researches at the beginning and end: I have frequently quoted the Pirke Abot, and the mediæval Sepher Toledot has at least passed through my hands since my book was in the press. If I am permitted to enlarge my labours in this department, my sources on this point will also be enlarged.

I await the sentence of my unprejudiced contemporaries, although it can only be definitive at the close of the whole, of which I have now merely opened the vestibule, whence I myself longingly reach after the purely historical part which has escaped from legends and hypothesis. It is also my intention, henceforward, to throw out ballast more thoroughly than has been done here in my anxious estimation of the smallest things

in the history of the greatest, which at any rate has this result, that this book cannot be accused by my opponents of having been written with a popular tendency. If strength, time, and space suffice, the conclusion which I hope to accomplish in small instalments as quickly as possible, will give a brief history of science, which the extent of the introduction in the first part has not admitted. To those who have aided me in my work, especially to my dear and honoured colleagues Hitzig, Schweizer, Fritzsche, Schrader, Büdinger, and Bursian, I here tender heartfelt thanks: I promise it to all who will be friendly enough in what they say openly and in secret of the book, to display the sympathy of justice and freedom from prejudice with the cause of truth.

TH. KEIM.

Zurich, May, 1867.

INTRODUCTION.

SURVEY OF SOURCES.

INTRODUCTION.

SURVEY OF SOURCES.

I.—The Task undertaken.

In the life of Jesus we undertake a biography which resembles none other in a long and important national history, nor indeed in a history of the world. It describes an individual life, but it is the life of a Man who is, in the first place, in his lofty consciousness of self, and in his spiritual power, a symptom of the world's history, and indeed a step in the development of the spirit of man, and who in the second place became, after little more than a year of active life, the creator of a new and higher order of things, of which the duration is to be reckoned by thousands of years, and measured by the circumference of the earth.*

It is in every point of view a heavy task, which is undertaken in a history of the life of Jesus. It is its fair privilege to diffuse the wealth of the several facts of his life lovingly, and without grudging, a privilege which would be exercised with a lighter heart if so many perplexing questions were less doubtful or unanswered for lack of witnesses: when a few stable facts are to be found, the story goes on in joyful security upon a golden ground. But History, if it is to be called so in any true sense, is not satisfied to glean the vague traditionary facts, and group them in a tolerable order of time or circumstances in accordance with the earlier models; it is constrained to search out the kernel of facts, which is not to be touched nor grasped by the senses, but may only be spiritually discerned, seized, and compre-

* Orig. d. princ. 4, 5: indicium autem effusæ gratiæ in labiis ejus hoc est, quod brevi tempore transacto (anno enim et aliquot mensibus docuit) universus tamen orbis doctrina et fide pietatis ejus impletus est.

hended—namely, the nature of this Man, his consciousness of self, his will and work: then it must reach the ground of facts, and declare wherefore he became what he was to his time, to his people, and to history; and again, why humanity, the inheritor, then and now, of all that is lost and won in the course of time, has irrevocably surrendered faith and love to this Person. He who searches out the inner meaning of facts and their origin may find himself mistaken before meaner men, and much more before Him who surveys all things which are above and beyond the range of earthly sight. He, who in all good faith seeks to work here, as in any other field of history, using the points of view and the scale of ordinary histories, laying bare the kernel and defining the foundation in firm characters, may thus describe a man, human gifts and qualities, a human power of access, striving and growing, a human connection with his family, his tribe, his people, and his time, human ties, not only in growth and development, but also in his becoming the object of belief to men of kindred minds;—such a man runs a risk at the very outset of defining the outlines of this new life after old patterns which are far too little for its greatness, and those who have prescribed the task will be wholly or in part dissatisfied with the results of his labour.

The task of writing such a history is imposed by two classes. The Science of history is deeply interested on the one hand, the Church on the other, in the demand for a really historical life of Jesus. The necessity for a fresh starting point for this life is the more pressing as a matter of historical science, since universal history cannot declare itself indifferent to such a development of the human intellect, as well as to revelations of that religious spirit which brings culture to whole peoples, especially since Christianity became a motive power in the world's history. A universal history which should profess to exclude or to be indifferent to the part taken by Christianity, and which would degrade it to be an appendage to the miserable scenes which closed the Jewish era, or to the follies recorded of the

Roman emperors, would be a mockery of history. The Christian Church demands with yet greater urgency the most exact and truthful account of the original and actual nature of her Founder.

It has been long admitted that the Christian religion, more than any other, depends upon the person of its Founder. Elsewhere, faith has preferred to rest on its Founder's teaching, but here chiefly on a life in which was found, not only a voice from Heaven, but an advent of God. No limb in the body of the Christian Church awaits and demands a reply more impatiently than Protestantism. It has set aside the help of saints for one Man: is his a name of salvation? It has renounced the later vain and idle traditions for the Bible and the Gospels: what, then, do the Gospels say, and is what they say really more than a doubtful tradition? Thus Science and the Church unite to prescribe the same task, the attempt to set forth the historical life of Jesus. This task is now incumbent on us. Theological research into history, at once a branch of the general science of history, and of a church which has a scientific foundation, is entrusted with the task of describing the life of Jesus. Only those who impose it, reserve the right of accepting or rejecting the chosen solution, which may correspond to, or contradict their principles, in order then to state the question anew.

But if Science and the Church agree in their demand for a historical life of Jesus, they appear to be at issue as to these principles, and to start asunder in their judgment of each solution. The primary law of historical science, even in relation to the life of Jesus, is uninterrupted sequence, while the watchword of the Church is separateness: in the one case we have an order of association, in the other isolation; in the one case a human, in the other a divine personality. With the former, the life of Jesus takes its place in the great stream of the world's history: He is a human individual, who became what he was, and was to be, through the living action of ideas and the circumstances of his time, and he, as a mighty storm-wave which has arisen through the conflict of forces, is destined to sink once

more into the smooth sea in the restless whirl of earthly things, quietly subsiding from the general life of humanity, in order to make room for new and stronger throes and creations. Here, in the Church, he is the rock which rules over the flood, instead of being made by it; a more than volcanic, a creative power, has raised him up, which cannot hurt nor overwhelm him: He, the pillar, the Son of God, will survey humanity, however far and wide it may extend, permitting it only to hold fast by him, or to wreck itself against him. These contradictions are irreconcilable, and without a possibility of meeting on common ground; they are contradictions which make the task of writing a life of Jesus a hopeless one, except by ceding to each of those who imposed the task their cherished solution.

In our day, however, these contradictions have been modified and weakened. In Science itself there is a manifest reaction from the levelling process which degraded the great ones of the world's history in favour of the multitude and the mean. At the very moment when the newer Philosophy, the framer of the world of conceptions, amid which the century has fretted itself to this day, has placed the whole being and history of the world in a movement of thought, by which the necessary process of reflection, ever hastening to higher things, threatens to exchange the architects of the world's history into mere purveyors of ideas, with whom we might more or less easily dispense, Hegel, the highest expression of this tendency, forced into reverence for the powers of history in spite of his system, uttered the saying so often quoted: that individuals stand at the head of all actions, including those of universal history.* And at the same moment in which his greatest pupil, Strauss, prepared and indeed completed the sacrifice of the historical Christ to the higher ideas which were all he recognised, he was compelled against all consistency, to proclaim the Christ of history to be the complete, and chief, and unapproachable pillar of religion; an admission indeed which he has now, with or without con-

* Comp. my Geschichtlichte Jesu. 3, A. p., 186, &c.

sistency, retracted. And we owe another advantage to Hegel. The stiff and rigid distinction between God and man, together with the stiff and rigid tenet of a merely human Christ, as it is asserted by the philosophy of Kant's time, and condemned by the Church, Hegel himself, as it ever happens, has broken down, and he, and possibly his disciple, have thought it credible that in the person of Jesus the perception and certain consciousness of oneness with God which filled his whole life, dawned upon the human race. Influenced by Schelling, Schleiermacher has brought forward still more forcibly his claim to a special and even to a creative personality, according to the logic of the world's history; and influenced again by the spirit of modern natural science, which considers facts, and founds ideas upon them, and not facts upon ideas, scientific research now adapts itself in all its departments to the actual world, and can therefore apply no other names to the great ones of the world's history, than those which they themselves claim in virtue of that which they have actually accomplished.

But the Church has also on her part moderated her demands. Theologians are led by the difficulties of the New Testament, and those which they perceive in the old doctrines concerning Christ to a demand for a human Jesus of Nazara* which daily rises higher, and to this also the simply religious member of the church is led by the general impulse of conscience, and by the increased sense of the worthiness of humanity, as it is founded on modern culture, on deeper insight into human nature, and on the extensive action of universal history; and not least on the exalted facts of the life of Jesus and on his awakening call. The human Jesus is the watchword of the age, to which the strongest advocates of the Son of God begin to appeal. Interests are reversed. Satisfied to behold a human face in Jesus, men had formerly only seen the pledges of man's

* Note by English editor. This spelling is adopted in deference to Dr. Keim's view of the origin and meaning of the word, as it is explained in a subsequent chapter.

salvation, of his redemption and future glory in his divine nature, in the assurance that he came forth from Heaven, in his miracles, his resurrection and ascension. At this day we are rejoiced that the mysterious and sublime Being should multiply and strengthen the signs and traces of his truly human origin, of common brotherhood, and of a development similar in nature to our own: instead of recoiling, it seems natural to us that his thought should be slowly elaborated, that he should here and there rely on the resources of his spiritual forefathers, that his will should fight against suffering, and that the day before all was perfected should tell of a revolt against his divine fate, while his last day on earth closed with a purely human cry of anguish. More or less distinctly, consciousness is everywhere awake to the fact that this true and living image of the human Christ can never again be reconciled with its directly mysterious and superhuman attributes. Men are therefore no longer troubled by the loss of this or that part of his history, whether it be more or less important, or even a miraculous history: freed from trivial details, freed in a truly protestant spirit from all tradition, which is not history, even when it finds a place in the Bible, they are joyful, satisfied and happy, if only the Person as a whole is no longer obscured by clouds, if only the features reveal to them the man, and in some sort the exalted messenger of God. In this manner conflicting principles begin to be reconciled, and since Science does not disclaim the exalted, nor the Church the human Jesus, both may be satisfied, with the exception indeed of those who are left behind in the two extremes.

Even with this approximation, much diversity, and even conflict of views, must remain as to the last points, concerning the origin and meaning of the person of Jesus, the mysterious depths of his being and actions, and the relations of his divine and human nature. It is so much the more necessary in a history of the life of Jesus, if light is to be thrown upon this

darkness, that the facts should be allowed to speak as clearly, fully, and impartially as in any other branch of history, and even more conscientiously, and it is most necessary to enter within the sphere of suppositions and deductions with anxious care, reserving the right of free judgment upon each. I include here an equally impartial consideration of the facts which may support one or the other stand-point, and an equally impartial renunciation of those aspects which make an arbitrary use of history, whether they strike miracles out of the history, after Strauss's manner, or oppose him in reckoning them to be within its compass: for history must finally decide disputed points, or they must remain unsettled. Such impartiality is not given to all, but only to those who have freed themselves both from the narrow rules of the church, and from the formulas of science, because their spiritual being has not been nourished by one or the other, but by both mothers. A firm conviction must not, however, be concealed, it must indeed be ever present in order from the first to give light and warmth to the whole, and it must, moreover, be such a conviction as is built upon facts, resulting from as certain progress as is possible within these limits, and yet without using constraint towards any man who is unable to follow; and for ourselves, to sum up our thoughts in one word, no conviction has become more certain in the contemplation of this life, than that there, where dwelt the truest and noblest humanity, not only a religious genius, but a miracle of God, and his presence on earth was at the same time revealed: himself the person, and in no other sense the miracle, the human nature allied with the divine, the corporeal temple of God.*

* That the religious genius will not suffice is most clearly shown by this, that the manner in which Jesus is singled out and distinguished from all others as the Sinless one, does not belong to the conception of a genius, in which there is a relative, and no absolute greatness. With this sinlessness, not merely the dogmatic, but also the historical Jesus must stand or fall, and this indeed is overlooked with complacent superficiality by so many modern manufacturers of dogmatic and arbitrary history.

In such a sense the life of Jesus will be here described: as the name which was interpreted in such a one-sided manner by Strauss has ever declared, it was a truly human life with a divine foundation which may be here presented in flesh and blood.*

II.—Ways and Means.

Even thus, if the title and the mode of interpretation are fully accepted, the life of Jesus must be preceded by very important questions. A life requires material, and does the material exist? It is indeed beyond a doubt that a life which has been, unlike any other, placed in the roll of history through its own merit, not through misconception, or the invention of the idle, is sufficiently rich in material; but we must still ask whether the material has flowed down to us, and how it flows, abundantly, sparingly, defiled, or undefiled. It is a fact that great historical forms have passed away from us so that we can barely grasp at their names; others have become extinct with men and peoples, sharing the lot of mortality, so that we know nothing of what they were, only of what they were worth to the heart and soul and active force of races. Is it not possible that a name so encircled with the faith and love of mankind as the name of Jesus, may owe its whole history, as it is now related to us, to such love, and that even after excluding the thoughts and feelings which evidently belong to a later age, the oldest accounts of his life have taken their material and light and colour less from himself than from the tone and impulses of the inner life of his followers.† The attempt at a life of Jesus is ever met by such doubts, not indeed as to

* Strauss, Leben Jesu. Neue Bearb. p. 5. "The consideration of the life of Jesus is the snare into which the theology of our age must fall, and come to destruction." But this consideration of the life of Jesus wholly starts an age which has laid aside the old representations of a divine person, and attained complete satisfaction in a human Jesus.

† Comp. Schwegler. Nachapost. Zeitalter, 1846, I. 258, &c.

whether he really lived, as Napoleon once asked Herder, but yet, whether he lived after this manner: and if we can succeed, with or without concessions, in warding off suspicion as to the purity of those colours which paint the picture of Jesus, the objection made by others will still remain, that the scanty remnants of history, the complete lack of any account of his youth and manhood, except for the brief time of his ministry, wholly forbid the sounding and ambitious title of a life of Jesus. Happily, after all the welding and re-casting of modern criticism, the scientific conviction of all thoughtful men is less despairing, and it now concerns us to establish this favourable judgment afresh, by some searching glances into the extent and composition of our sources.

FIRST PART.—PRE-CHRISTIAN SOURCES.

THE glance of the seeker first enters hopefully the circles which should be able to give the earliest and most unbiassed information concerning the work of Jesus, either among the Jews or the Gentiles. If it may be objected to the Christian sources that their date is late and uncertain, among the latter we are clear as to the date and their connection with it. The Christian sources may be accused of having, intentionally or otherwise, painted the life of Jesus in ideal colours, but in these there will be an impartial and sober bearing, or at any rate a realistic criticism, and we may draw historical conclusions from their comments, discoveries, complaints, and confutations. Even if the contradictions were clearly established, if the imputed exaggerations of Christianity were set aside simply by means of the detractions and calumnies of their opponents, a middle course may be deduced from two one-sided views, an objective truth revealed out of two which are subjective.

I.—JEWISH SOURCES.

Israel, and the national life in which it has its birth, stand nearest to the life of Jesus. Here it is immediately evident what an important part the Jewish history must take in the history of Jesus, both before and after his time, even supposing that no Jewish historian, no word nor act of the nation had any reference to the person of Jesus himself. At the very least, the historical relations of the nation, its physical, political, religious and social condition, especially in the time of the first Roman Emperors, form the rude outlines of the picture in which the person of Jesus is to be drawn as the

central figure: and who will not go further, and instead of enclosing it in a merely external frame-work, formed of the material of Jewish history, will not first set forth its living connection with the highest needs and endeavours of national life, in order then to become satisfied with the historical traces of its effectual influence, and again confirmed in a belief of the historical facts of the life itself. Thus the life of Jesus does indeed draw great stores out of the rich mines of Jewish history, even if these do not mention the name of Jesus, and it, or rather the historian, is alone in fault if, notwithstanding the laudable example of Eusebius, the first historian of the church, these are left unexhausted, as if of no significance without the name itself.* The whole literature of the Old Testament must therefore claim a certain consideration, including the belated stragglers who touch upon Christian times, and are usually classed under the epithet of apocryphal: we must then go on to the succeeding literature of modern Judaism, which was from the beginning of our era published in manifold forms and names, and which comes to an end in the Talmud, the great panorama of Jewish theology and Jewish theologians, onwards from the third century after Christ.

This is the place in which to indicate the connection of the life of Jesus with the whole of Jewish literature, but by no means to follow it out in detail, since this would be the task of a special science, which is indeed still in the future: at most, we shall be here and there obliged, from the want of positive conclusions as to time and origin, to establish the special aim of single writings. Nor do we propose to make a full use of all materials; at any rate to exhaust the enormous later literature of the Talmud, would not only require the devotion of a life, but would also stifle this history in a mass of extinct and excessively untrustworthy material, while the best fruits have

* Besides all the fables contributed by Eusebius, he displays an effort to illustrate the life of Jesus and his Apostles from the history of the times.

already been plucked by diligent hands out of the midst of boundless deserts. As a pearl of the Talmud, which will weary no one, we must not omit to mention one book, the extracts of the Fathers (Pirke Abot), in which the choicest sayings of all the great teachers are collected, from Simeon the Just to Jehudah the Holy.* At once copious and trustworthy, like none of the later literary fragments, the accounts of the contemporaries of Jesus, and of the early apostolic church are of pre-eminent value, namely, by Philo of Alexandria, and by Josephus of Jerusalem, of whom the one so far supplements the other, that the former stood at the height of his religious and scientific fame as a venerable old man under the Emperor Caligula (A.D. 37-41), at the very time when the latter was born of an illustrious pharisaic and priestly house, a living and influential witness of Jewish history until the end of the century, a defender of Jerusalem, and finally, much against his will, a sharer with the Romans in its destruction (A.D. 70).† The life of Jesus must itself, under the name of Philo as the representative of mystic piety, relate in part how much light the religious history of Israel owes to the numerous treatises of Philo, which are dogmatic, ethical and at the same time historical, and of which the authenticity both as a whole and in details has been for the most part unjustly questioned. But the works of Josephus are still more comprehensive, are indeed quite indispensable as the greatest aid, downwards from the time of the Maccabees—the only Jewish record, on which the life of Jesus must rest in a hundred ways; and especially his two great works, seven books of "The Wars of the Jews," written in the Syriac dialect in the time of Vespasian, and

* Concerning the chief editions of the Talmud, Von Bamberg, 12 Fol. Vened. 1520, et seq. Latin. Mischnah, by Surenhusius, Amst. 1698, et seq. For others, comp. Herzog Enc. xv. 615, et seq. Tractatus Talmud, Pirke Abot, s. capitula patrum auct. John Leusden, Utr. 1665. Translated into German, by G. H. Lehmann, Leipzig, 1684, and by later authors. German Talmud (Mischnah), by Rabe, 1760.

† Josephus. Born A.D. 37, Vit. 1, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς τοῦ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας.

afterwards done into Greek, about the year A.D. 75, and "The Jewish Antiquities," in twenty books, beginning with the creation of the world, and coming down to the beginning of the Jewish war, which was published in the reign of the Emperor Domitian, A.D. 94: there were besides two subordinate works, "Concerning the Antiquities of the Jews, against Apion," in two books, and finally (about A.D. 100), "The Life," which is the autobiography of Josephus, was composed. If the other writings which bear his name are unauthentic, doubtful or lost, the writer is himself to blame, since he, a man of lax morality and shrewd self-seeking, was altogether wanting in the character, and in the spiritual and religious depths of a Philo, and therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, from credulity, unworthy judgment, and a national and personal egotism, he has falsified here and there the history of his people; but yet no one has denied his faithfulness on the whole, and it is confirmed by comparing his writings with the Old and New Testament, and with other literature, and he has for the most part provided with his own hand the best material for correcting his errors and his disguise of truth.*

But is there nothing of the person of Jesus in these sources? Nothing in fact, or nothing of which we can make use as characteristic of the person of Jesus himself, as well as of Judaism. First, as to his contemporaries. As a religious herald of Christianity, Philo indeed was early considered to be not only favourable to the new religion, but also one of the first to speak well of it. Eusebius, followed by others, is inclined to give full credit to the ecclesiastical tradition, that Philo, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, who had, together with the Roman Senate, given the fullest assent to the delivery

* For Philo, see the section which treats of the religious condition of the Jews. For Josephus, see Paret's translation of the Jewish Wars and of the treatise against Apion, Stuttgardt, 1855-6, and the article on Josephus in Herzog's Encyc. vii. 24, et seq. Hausrath, Histor. Zeitschrift, v. Sybel, vol. xii. 285, et seq, respecting the Jewish historian and statesman, Fl. Josephus.

of his treatise against the Emperor Caligula, had become a friend of the Apostle Peter, who was on a mission to Rome at that time, and, more than this, he advocated with increasing conviction, the supposition that in his treatise on speculative life, Philo has described the condition of the early Christian church, founded by the Evangelist Mark in Alexandria and Egypt, the whole ecclesiastical life, the Christian communism of which we hear in the Acts of the Apostles, the fasts and vigils, the use of the apostolic writings, the bishops and deacons.* Yet we are grievously deceived if we expect to light here on any discoveries: Philo has not described the Christians, but the essentially Jewish Essenes and Therapeutæ, who were certainly so much allied to the Christians, that even now the supposition of a Christian falsification or interpolation of these writings finds advocates, and elsewhere he has not, in any of his writings, mentioned either Jesus or the Christians.

Josephus, whose writings are somewhat later, appears to break through this fatal silence: in the first place he has, in the eighth book of the Antiquities, a splendid and incomparable account of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus: then he twice mentions the name of Jesus himself, and once gives a sketch of his history.†

In order to decide upon the value of these two passages with greater certainty, we must compare them with the previous style of those which are simpler, and of which the text is less doubtful. At the close of the Antiquities, in Book XX., he relates, before the beginning of the Jewish war, the terribly hasty trial of James, "the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ," by the Sadducean High Priest, Annas the younger, (about A.D. 63). There can be scarcely a doubt as to the authenticity of this passage, which has been quoted in full by Origen: here is a genuine Jewish history, without a trace of

* Eus. 2, 4, 5, 16, 18.

† Antiq. 18, 5, 2 (John): 18, 3, 3, and 20, 9, 1 (Jesus and James).

Christian embellishment, and the identity of person with the Christian James is established by the ancient but somewhat legendary account of Clement of Alexandria, and still more by that of the Christian Hegesippus of Palestine, concerning the death of this James. The designation of James as the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, is also in itself unimpeachable; the Jewish historian expresses, as Origen has already remarked, not indeed his own belief, but the wide acquaintance with the name of Jesus Christ, as it must have prevailed in the year 70.* To the enquiry what is gained by this scanty notice, I reply that the gain is not small. The historical significance of this name is at any rate admitted, and the profound silence, more intelligible in Philo of Alexandria than in Josephus of Jerusalem, who was the later witness of a growing Christian community, and the narrator of all Jewish history, is in some sense removed: we may suppose that he named Jesus without being able to define what he was on various grounds, of prudence, toleration, or dislike, or we may think it probable that he had described him, as we shall see, in another and earlier passage, and is on that account so brief here. Yet another consideration. When he calls James the brother of Jesus, he has borne an honourable witness to Christianity and to Jesus himself, as well as to James, since he records the strong disapprobation with which the justest and most righteous men in Jerusalem regarded the hasty and cruel execution of the assumed transgressor of the law. In so writing, although Josephus may have regarded the Christian's belief in him as a Messiah as a delusion, yet he could not doubt the decency and virtue of their lives, their submission to the Jewish law, as well as the essential excellence of the work of Jesus. This passage is only open to one objection: the second passage in Josephus is most probably forged, or at any rate falsified by Christians, and besides, as Origen and Eusebius show, manuscripts were already in existence in the third and fourth centuries, containing additions to our passages,

* Orig. c. Cels. 1, 47.

which most evidently show the Christian bias of the history of James: "This befell the Jews, as vengeance for James the Just, a brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, after the Jews had slain that most Just One."* In noticing this daring attempt of the Jewish Christians to ascribe to the Jewish historian the death of St. James as a motive for the destruction of Jerusalem, does it not seem possible that the whole, including also the first passage, is founded on Christian emendations of Josephus? The possibility must be admitted, but the simplicity of the one account and the exaggeration of the other passages avert such a suspicion.

Still less can be saved out of the second passage, however ample, great, and famous the declaration may be.† "At this time," so it is written in the 18th Book of the Antiquities, after an account of the offences of the Procurator Pilate against the nation, "appeared (a certain) Jesus, a wise man, if indeed he may be called a man; for he was a worker of miracles, a teacher of those men who receive the truth with joy, and he drew to himself many Jews, many also of the Greeks. This man was the Christ. And when Pilate condemned him to the cross, at the instigation of our chief men, those who had first loved him did not fall away. For he appeared to them alive again on the third day, according to that which the holy prophets had declared of him, together with a thousand other wonders. Until now, the sect of Christians, so called after his name, has not ceased."‡ We should take Josephus for a Christian, if he had in such wise proclaimed Jesus as the suffering risen Messiah, who had been promised by the prophets. We should (which has hitherto been overlooked) regard him as the most out-spoken admirer of the fourth Gospel, both in form and substance, when he speaks of the bringing-in of the Greeks, of the enmity of the chief men, of the friends of truth, and

* Orig. c. Celsus, 1, 47. Eus. h. e., 2, 23.

† Comp. for the testimony of Josephus in general literature, particularly Ammon, L. J. I., 120, et seq, and Paret.

‡ "A certain" Jesus, is to be found in Eus. I. 11.

the unceasing love of the disciples, although this Gospel was in fact written after the time of Josephus. We must make the historian grossly contradict himself when he accuses the chief men of Israel (and not merely the Sadducees) of procuring the death of Jesus, since he, as an aristocrat, would do nothing to offend the Jewish aristocracy, and since he had ascribed to that aristocracy a quite contrary attitude at the death of James.* The external evidence corresponds to the internal. This passage, first brought forward and believed by Eusebius, and triumphantly opposed to the "Heathen Acts of Pilate," was absolutely unknown to the older Fathers, such as Origen and the Alexandrines, and indeed to those who were much later.† Besides, the passage is suspiciously vagrant, and has no fixed place or home. Thus, Eusebius evidently shows that he found the passage before the account of Pilate, in which Josephus, as he thought (on the strength of the extensive Christian emendations), set forth the vengeance which had begun on account of the death of Jesus, while the passage generally now stands after it.‡ For all these reasons, the passage cannot be maintained; it has first appeared in this form in the Catholic Church of the Jews and Gentiles, and under the dominion of the fourth Gospel, and hardly before the 3rd century, probably before Eusebius, and after Origen, whose bitter criticism of Josephus may have given cause for it.§

But men have long asked less about these questionable sources than about that which really remains as genuine and authentic in the midst of the unauthentic. We are ready to

* Weizsäcker (Unters. p. 5), in a remarkable manner discovers a proof of authenticity in these "chief men."

† Orig. c. Celsus, 1, 47. On the other hand, Eus. I. 11, comp. 1, 9. 9, 5, 7. v., 3, 5.

‡ Eus. 2, 6, clearly shows that he read Jos. 18, 3 § 3 (the section referring to Jesus), before § 1, § 2 (the misdeeds of Pilate).

§ That the origin of the passage is connected with the fault found with Josephus by Origen (because he referred the Jewish misfortunes to James, and not as he should have justly done, to Christ), appears to me beyond a doubt. See Orig. 1, 47.

strike out more or less, if, after all is struck out, we may still believe in an account which is no longer extant. Most men, from Ammon, Eichstadt, and Paulus, to Ewald and Renan, Paret and Weizsäcker, have thus argued. They think it probable, especially on the strength of the passage about James, that the historian did not pass over Jesus. They are able to fix the position of the record, after the first offences of Pilate, before the Roman expulsion of the Jews (A.D. 19), and before the Samaritan insurrection (A.D. 35), suitably as to time, and yet more as to fact (as one misfortune among the many calamities of the people).* They can put together out of the record something neutral, and therefore possible, the saying about the wise man and his crucifixion by Pilate, and possibly by the Sadducees, and the continuance of the Christian community.† On the whole, however, the reasons for the unauthenticity of the whole are predominant. There are proofs, both within and without, against the text, and it has been so thoroughly christianized that its restorers palpably contradict themselves. Jesus, according to Josephus, was at once a preacher of virtue and a deceiver and misleader of the people, his execution was at once clearly justified, and flagrantly unjust.‡ What remains of the text amid such contradictions? This question appears to us to offer the final decision: is it more improbable that the Christians should have inserted the paragraph about Jesus than that, as is asserted, Josephus should have been silent about the works of Jesus?§ No doubt the latter is easy, the former still easier to explain.

* The view advocated by Eichstadt (quaest. I. 1813, VI., 1841), by Ammon, and by Paret is very mistaken, namely that the history of Jesus in § 3 is in close connection with that of the disgraceful deceit of the Egyptians in Rom. § 4, and that the conception of the Roman lady, Paulina of Anubis, was a parody of the birth from a virgin. In what does the connection consist? Did Josephus know of the birth from a virgin? The real connection has been overlooked.

† Thus, Renan and Weizsäcker.

‡ According to Ewald, Paret, and Schaff, Josephus considered Jesus to be a sorcerer and misleader; according to Renan and Weizsäcker, he had virtually recognised him, although he demurred to his Messiahship. According to Ewald, he had disapproved of the execution, while according to Paret he approved of it.

§ Ewald and Paret consider that such a silence is impossible.

The silence concerning Jesus, with the exception of the slight allusion to the death of his brother, need not be understood to imply an incomprehensible denial of his importance, nor lower the actual position of Jesus, for this would indeed be fatal to our Christian records; it is sufficiently intelligible if we think that the historian was embarrassed in his judgment, too cultivated and conscientious for condemnation, but also too prejudiced and Jewishly disposed for the praise, which he was ready to lavish on the Baptist, but not on Jesus, as the Messiah, the Divider of the nation. On the other hand, it can be readily understood how the Christian interpolation came to supply the silence of Josephus, if indeed he was wholly silent, or gave the slight sign which drew them on in the death of James: the Jewish historian, eagerly read by the Christians, as Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome prove, could not hold his peace as to the Crown of Jewish history, who brought salvation, as well as that punishment of Jerusalem which followed in the footsteps of the double murder: in this manner the interpolations of faith rather than of deceit have been inserted, like so many others of the early centuries.*

The still fruitless search for traces of Jesus must therefore flow downwards over Josephus. As we get lower, for a century and even for centuries after the time of Jesus, there is still less certainty. Observations of the Christian Justin Martyr, as well as of the heathen historian Celsus† in the second century, show that malignant Jewish traditions, both oral and in writing, respecting the Galilean Deceiver, were freely circulated. Their report is in exact agreement with the accounts given in the late Talmud, and indeed in its latest development, the Gemara,

* Hier. v. i. 13. We may also remark that the genuinensss of 20, 9, 1, has, according to Clerk and Lardner, also been questioned by Credner. *Einl.* p. 581. Against the evidence, see also C. Gerlach, d. Weiss, A. T. Josephus, u. das angebl. Zeugniss v. Chr, 1863. In its favour, see H. Gerlach, röm. Statth. 1865, Langen. 1866, p. 442; Schaff, K. G., 1867, p. 61.

† Just. Dial. c. Tryph. 10. 17, 108. The Jews, or rather their high priests and leaders (c. 117) have sent their special agents out into the world: *ὅτι αἵρεσίς τις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγήγερται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινος Γαλιλαίου πλάνου.* His immorality. The lie told of his resurrection and ascension. Orig. c. Cels. 1, 28.

which only began in the third century after Christ, together with the fifth concluding commentary to the Mischna, collected by the Rabbi Judas the Holy (about A.D. 170), and yet more with the treatises Sandhedrin and Schabbat.* Jesus, or Jeschu (not Jeschua, the Saviour, but the name of the God-forsaken), is often mentioned by name, and still more often as "the fellow," "the fool," "He of whom one dare not and ought not to speak," is silently indicated; yet whatever is said of him is for the most part malignant or senseless, and abounding in contradictions.† The lies about the birth of the son of Mary Magdalene, the daughter of Eli (comp. Luke iii. 23), who was a woman's hair-dresser, and also of the son of Pandera Pappus, are well known, and must unfortunately be afterwards discussed.‡ The Rabbi Joshua, the son of Perachiah, is said to be the teacher of Jesus, in whose company Jesus escaped to Egypt during the persecution of the scribes under King Jannæus, and again returned to it.§ He was in truth an indiscreet and scoffing disciple, whom the teacher himself excommunicated.‖ From that time he wrought miracles by sorcery, which he had learned in Egypt, or indeed, as later witnesses assert, from his teacher himself, and led many of the people astray into idolatry, not in that he declared himself to be God, but because he rejected the law, scoffed at sacrifices and at the high-priests, and erected an image before which he and others bowed down.¶ He was surrounded by a band of disciples. He had five

* Meelführer, Jesus im Talmud, 1669. *Eisenmenger, Entdeckt. Judenthum,* 1711.

† B. Werner, Jesus im Talmud, 1731. Chr. Schöttgen, horæ hebraicæ et talmudicæ, 1742, vol. ii. p. 693, et seq. Comp. Ammon, L. J. 1, 126, et seq. Rabbi Judas among the Antonines. Comp. Leusden, p. 6, and more recently, Gratz.

‡ Eisenm. 1, 64. Ornatrix capillorum muliebrum, comtrix mulierum. (Schöttgen p. 694) p. 16, Daughter of Eli, 702.

§ Comp. Jos. ant. 13, 13, 5. 14, 2. 15, 5. Grätz, 113: B.C. 94–89.

‖ The indiscretion of the disciple. Sanhedr. fol. 107, 2. Schöttgen, p. 697. Also, Hist. Jesch. p. 14, 19.

¶ Schabbat. fol. 104, 2. Ammon filius Stadar magiam ex Aegypto adduxit, per incisionem in carne sua factam? Schöttgen understands p. 699 on this point that

disciples, Matthai (Matthew), Nakai, Metzer, Boni, Todah (Thaddeus). Men who worked miracles in the name of Jesus are more frequently mentioned, such as one James the son of Sechaniah, who scoffed at the law as "your law" before Rabbi Eliezer in Sepphoris (Galilee): it was taught by the Rabbis, that it was better to die than to be healed by them. Finally, Jesus (with craft permissible towards a deceiver) was entrapped by witnesses, brought to trial, condemned to be stoned, and since no one testified to his innocence, in spite of a forty days' proclamation by the herald, he was stoned on the evening before the Passover, and then hanged up in order that he might go to hell. Neither did the five disciples escape a merited death, notwithstanding their appeals to Scripture. Out of such elements, laden however with fresh and evil fancies, the infamous slander of the middle ages against Jesus, which took various forms, has been compiled.*

With great reluctance we point to sources, which are not really such. The "fiery weapons of Satan," as Wagenfeil called them in the year 1681, are equally repulsive from their malice and their stupidity. This blood-thirsty and vindictive Judaism of the letter has only described itself, since their judgment has not been calmed and moderated by the lapse of centuries. Moreover, the grossest ignorance is displayed on every point. The Magdalene is confounded with Mary, the mother of Jesus, and her name derived from the art of hairdressing, instead of from the village of Magdala. The name Stada is sometimes applied to Mary's husband, sometimes to the Deceiver, sometimes to Mary herself.† The reign of King

it was introduced from Egypt which jealously observed his art: but the context makes it plain that the infliction of wounds in the flesh on the Sabbath was done as a means of sorcery. The abolition of the law and the Sabbath, and the introduction of a new law are also in the Hist. Jesch. ed. Huldr. 35, 43, 59 f. 126.

* Sepher toledot Jeschua Hannozeri. hist. Jeschuæ Nazareni. ed. I. I. Huldricus. Leyden, 1705. Earlier Rec. 1505. Comp. Wagenfeil tela ignea Satanæ. Altorf. 1681. Hase, L. J. 5., p. 17.

† Schöttgen, p. 695.

Jannæus, the Asmonean, appears as the age of Jesus, although he died 79 years before the Christian era, in order by his death to make way for a new dominion of the Pharisees, which is shown, among other ways, by the names Joshua ben Perachiah, and Simon ben Schetach, and according to this, Jesus, who had escaped to Egypt 79 years before the Christian era, must have returned in about this year to Jerusalem.* The death of Jesus is in one passage stated to have taken place in Lydda, instead of in Jerusalem.† The absolute senselessness of all these versions is finally shown in this, that from embarrassment and a temporizing spirit, more than one Jesus was described: one who observed the law and only despised oral tradition, another who claimed to be God.‡ Here and there historical notices seem to be left concerning the mother of Jesus and her birth, the royal descent of Jesus, which is once mentioned, his stay in Egypt, his miracles, his opposition to the law and to tradition, his accusation, the witnesses, and his death at the feast of the Passover, but these are most probably borrowed from the Christian Gospels, down to John, and fresh colouring arbitrarily applied.§ Much has reference to later Christian times, such as that Jesus, as an Egyptian, was charged with the sorcery and image-worship of the Egyptian gnostics.‖

II.—Heathen Sources.

The records of Roman and Greek heathenism are however more truthful and copious than those of the Jews. In both alike there is much repugnance to Christianity, but in the former more contempt than bitterness, and hence more of

* Schöttgen, p. 697. † p. 700. ‡ p. 701.

§ Royal descent, Sanh. f. 43, 1: Jesus sanguini regio cognatione conjunctus erat. Schöttgen, p. 700, 703. finds in this a hateful connection with the family of Herod, which however is not indicated. For the use of Christian sources by the Jews, see, for example: Justin, dial. c. Tryph. 10.

‖ Comp. Iren. c. haer. 1, 24, 5: utuntur autem et hi (Basilid.) *magia* et *imaginibus* et incantationibus et invocationibus et reliqua universa periergia.

silence than of calumny, and the occasional notices to which the conflicts between Christianity and the Roman state give rise, are in this instance quieter, more objective, and of greater culture. There is also a great difference in time. From the second to the third and fourth century, the attention of heathenism, whether adverse or friendly, to the religion which had taken possession of Rome increases. We may wish that the first century had shown the same interest. As a near witness of the life of Jesus, although not precisely in the sense intended by Justin Martyr, immense historical material might have been furnished by the Protocols of Pilate, of which, in his indifference, he made no lavish use, but altogether disdained, while the following centuries, with all their zeal and love, have only collected what they have been able to learn at so great a distance among the Christians themselves, by means of our own and other Gospels, as Christianity then existed, whether understood or misunderstood, and from the after sayings of the Jews. On this account, the notices and judgments of heathenism, of a later date than the middle and end of the second century, and especially after the concluding work of the philosopher Celsus, do not merit a closer description; however interesting the neo-platonic studies concerning Jesus in the third and fourth centuries may be, as well as the heathen books for school-boys, concerning "Jesus and Pilate," on account of the persecution in the fourth century, they have their proper place elsewhere, in the history of the diffusion of Christianity, in the history of Rome and of Christianity.*

The contributions of heathen literature to the history of the Judaism of those times are necessarily of great value for the life of Jesus, whether we look at the historians, and especially

* Comp. as to the position of Rome in reference to Christianity, my "Übertritt Kaiser Constantins d. Gr. zum Christenthum," 1862, and my article on Lucian of Samosata, in Herzog's R. E. Porphyry and Hierocles may be particularly mentioned among the Neo-platonists. The Acta Pilati in Justin. ap. 1. 35 (together with the tables of Quirinius, c. 34), were used in support of the heathen teaching in the schools. Eus. h. e. 1, 9, 11. 9, 5, 7.

to Tacitus, who devotes several pages at the beginning of his fifth book of his history to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the circumstances which preceded it, or to the poets and satirists who scoffed at the activity with which the Jews propagated their religion. If the life of Jesus had to describe the general preparation of the world, including the heathen world, for a higher religion, which has been often attempted and which alone appears to correspond to the importance of this life in universal history, classical literature must take its place as a record of the first order in directness and value. But since, in fact, Jesus, within the sharply defined limits of his sphere of work, hardly or not at all concerned himself with heathenism, and sought it neither as a learner nor as a teacher, the great picture of heathenism as a whole must in the history of Christianity be justly restricted to the time when it was actually sought by Christianity, and flowed into it, that is to say, to the apostolic age.*

The first references to the life of Jesus and to his sect belong to the end of the first century, in the authors of the time of Trajan. They are scanty, but yet exceptionably valuable, on account of their age, and their independence of Christian and of other sources. The burning of Jerusalem (A D. 70) has led the great Tacitus in his history to the mention of the Jews, and the burning of Rome (A.D. 64), in the fifteenth book of the Annals, to that of the Christians, upon whom the diabolical malice of the Imperial incendiary shifted his crime. Tacitus, at any rate, puts the Talmudists to shame, by the accuracy and exactness with which he gives the date of the life of Jesus. "The author of the name of Christ (thus indeed, like all his successors, he confounds the name of his person and his office) was executed in the reign of Tiberias, by the Procurator Pontius Pilate."† He

* In this therefore we oppose the treatment of Strauss, p. 179, on the process of development of the Greek and Roman culture.

† Ann. 15, 44: auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat: repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

does not indeed give more than this notice of his death, and the information that a movement which was at first merely in Palestine, but afterwards in Western Rome, was extinguished for the moment by the death of its leader, for he is no friend to Christianity: execution and death are the only just and legitimate answer of the Roman state to both the head and the members, whose detestable superstition and proved hatred of the human race, have deserved extreme measures, only not from Nero. Since he pointedly calls Judea the "source of this evil," it becomes more evident why he so briefly disposes of the teaching of Christ, as a mere perversion of Judaism, as a specimen of its worst features, religious hatred without its virtues, buried out of history, if not under the cross of Pilate and the crosses of Nero, yet doubtless under the ruins of Jerusalem.* Suetonius, the contemporary of Tacitus, has for the same reason only mentioned the Christians in his life of Nero in one short sentence: the punishment of the Christians, a sect of a new and vicious superstition, is reckoned among the excellent measures of this Emperor's severity. Besides this, in his life of Claudius, who expelled the Jews from Rome, he has shown his undoubted inferiority to Tacitus as a historian, by treating "Christ" as a restless and seditious Jewish agitator, who was still living in the time of Claudius, and indeed in Rome.†

* Ann. 15, 44. Odio humani generis convicti sunt. Comp. also hist. 5, 5, respecting the Jews: adversus omnes alios hostile odium. Although, on this account, it is possible that Tacitus saw in the fall of Jerusalem the destruction merited both by Judaism and Christianity, yet the assumption cannot be maintained which is put forth by Jacob Bernays (1861) on the strength of the treatise respecting the chronicle of Sulpic. Severus, that Tacitus ascribed to the destroyer of Jerusalem the intention of uprooting both religions. See my article Vespasian. Herzog, xvii. 165.

† Suet. Nero 16: Multa sub eo et animadversa severe et cöercita nec minus instituta: adhibitus sumptibus modus:—afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae et maleficae. Suet. Claud. 16: Impulsore Chresto assiduae tumultuantes. This is not the place for criticising other interpretations. If we are to suppose that an ordinary Jewish demagogue is intended, so we have undoubtedly Chrestus quidam. When Wieseler has opposed the only tenable view (contrary to Renan and others) in the article *Römerbrief* in Herzog, on the grounds

At the same time the Emperor Trajan, by beginning his proceedings against the Christians, was providing for a somewhat better acquaintance with Christianity. About the year A.D. 104, the younger Pliny, the contemporary of the two historians, had, as Governor in Bithynia, written to Rome to inform the Emperor about the Christians in a well-known letter which had important consequences. Pliny had obtained information about the Christians in three particulars. First, he learned from the heathen that true Christians do not sacrifice to the gods nor to the Emperor, nor curse "Christ." Next, he heard from the Christians themselves of their meeting early in the mornings for songs of praise and holy and virtuous vows to Christ as God, and in the evening for a common meal. Finally, he enquired by torture into their principles, yet although he was thus in a position to hear and relate a whole gospel of holy conviction, he contented himself in his heathen stagnation with informing the Emperor: "I found nothing except perverse and immoderate superstition." Yet the enquiry constrained him to make an advance in the estimation of Christianity, which was sufficiently important both for Christianity and for heathenism, but which indeed required fully another century to penetrate the old world: he did not find the impious religion of Tacitus and Suetonius, and he thought it possible to tolerate the name of Christians as inoffensive, and only to punish some civil crimes. So that no one need venture, on the strength of Tacitus or Suetonius, to despise the beginnings of Christianity and the Christian Gospels which speak in such a different sense.*

From the middle of the second century, the heathen accounts of Christianity gather strength. Lucian, the Epicurean scoffer, has introduced the founder of Christianity, more particularly

that Suetonius was of too great culture to betray such ignorance, he does not see that ignorance of Christianity would not have weighed heavily on any Roman.

* Ep. 10, 97, 98: Nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam. Comp. on their proceedings, my article: Bedenken gegen die Aechtheit des Hadrian, schen Christen-Rescripts. Theol. Jahrb. 1856, 387.

in his "death of Peregrinus," but still only from hearsay, and without making use of Jewish or Christian sources, if he ever knew of such. The founder of the new and widely diffused mystery concerned him only as a character with whom he was acquainted, but who had been long removed from the scene. Yet he did not call him by name, he only called him the crucified sophist, or in mockery, the great man. He knew no particulars of his life. The famous exorcist Syrian, in "The friend of lies," can indeed hardly have anything to do with Jesus, especially since he appears as living then. Lucian only knew this much of the sophist: he was crucified for introducing his new mysteries. For he, as the most distinguished lawgiver of the Christians, had enjoined them to deny the Greek gods and to pray to him, and taught them to believe that they, by this act of apostacy, should become brothers to one another. He also to some extent intimates that the Christian communism, as well as the senseless belief in immortality, rested on his teaching and precepts. What else he tells of the constitution and customs of the Christians of that time, is not within our limits: the account of Jesus is indeed of no further value, since he really describes him from the point of view of his own time, making him at once a Greek sophist, and a denier of the Greek gods.*

About the same time, the more exclusive use of the written sources of Judaism, and still more of Christianity, had already begun. The Neopythagorean Numenius has elaborately related and explained a fragment of the Life of Jesus, but without naming him, in the third book of his work on the Highest Good. Phlegon, the freedman of Hadrian, has scarcely indeed, as Origen supposed, pointed to the events of the death of Jesus, in his account of an earthquake and eclipse in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, but on the other hand, in the thirteenth or fourteenth of his historical books, he confounds Jesus with Peter, and speaks of the founder of the Christian faith, whose

* See my article Lucian. Herzog. viii. 497, et seq.

manifold predictions (perhaps about the destruction of Jerusalem) had come to pass. The Eclectic Galenus in the second half of the second century, has appealed to the fact that Jesus was accustomed to speak in parables, as a proof that most men are not swayed by logical reasons.* No one indeed, either then or later, has examined Christianity more diligently in its life and literature, than the most terrible of all adversaries, the confuter and proselytizer in the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, Celsus the Platonist, author of "A true discourse."† "I know all," said Celsus. "We have it all out of your own books, we need no further witnesses. You have killed yourselves with your own sword."‡ Together with the writings of the "great church," he has studied Matthew, Luke, and John (Redepenning is not at all justified in doubting whether he made use of them), the Gnostics and the Jews, and a Jew must open the attack.§ He has followed our Evangelists, and other sources, of which some remain to this day, from the birth by a virgin to the misery of death with gall and vinegar, and to the miraculous death and resurrection, and he has gained from them a belief in the hatefulness of Jesus and the sinfulness of his disciples.‖ From the Jews he has informed himself of the illegitimacy of the birth of Jesus from an unmarried woman.¶ The Gospels seem to him to rely essentially on deceit. The Founder is partly responsible for the deceit: he proclaimed

* Numen. ap. Orig c. Cels. 4, 51. Phleg. ap. eund. 2, 14, 33, 59. In Bithynia the earthquake and the darkness were such that the stars were visible. For Galenus, see De sent. polit. platon. ap. Abulfed. hist. anteislam. ed. Fleischer. 1831, p. 109. Schmidt essai p. 344. His philosophy in Zeller, Phil. d. Grieeh. iii. 1. 446, et seq. (1852).

† I cannot here dilate on the age and tendency of Celsus (Comp. Orig. c. C. praef. 4, 1, 8), who was the author of the λόγος ἀληθὴς (1, 17. 8, 76). But the study of the treatise has led me to the firm conviction that Celsus was a Platonist, and wrote when the persecution under Marcus Aurelius was at its height (that is 176-180). Comp. Origen c. Celsus, 7, 40. 8, 39. 41. 69. Without further proof Volkmar does not make him earlier than c. 200. (Urspr. Ev. 165).

‡ *πάντα γὰρ οἶδα*, 1, 12. 2, 74

§ 1, 28. 5, 54. 5, 59: ὁι ἀπὸ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας. Seeten. c. 62.

‖ 6, 75. 2, 46. His hatefulness mentioned already. Just. Tryph. 88.

¶ 1, 28.

himself to be God and the son of a virgin: he, together with John, the companion of his execution, invented the voice from Heaven at the Jordan, and made use of deceitful tricks of juggling for his miracles, which failed in the critical hour.* His followers added to these inventions. They have at one time lied clumsily, as in the pedigree of Jesus, in which they bring him into connection with the Father of all men and with the old kings of Judah, at another ludicrously, as when they make it credible that he foretold his own death: and their power of lying is truly shown to this day, since they, like drunken men, hold on to each other, and three and four times, or even endlessly, alter and falsify the principal and best passages of the Gospels, in order to offer a better resistance to objections.† In addition to the lies, there are forced solutions and interpretations of prophecy: the prophets are made to proclaim all the acts of Jesus, although their words would in fact be more fit for any one than for him.‡ In any case the history of the resurrection must be held doubtful. For who witnessed all this? A crazy woman, as it is said, and one other of this band of jugglers, who either permitted himself to dream that which he desired, or, like countless others, invented the apparition which corresponded to his desire, out of a weak imagination, or, which is most credible of all, he wished to astonish others by his lies, and to make his way in the world by his deceit. Moreover, his death, even more than his life, confutes this Jesus.§

What therefore was this life of the "man of Nazareth"? Jesus was in fact, as it is known to the Jew, born in a wretched Jewish village, secretly and in adultery, of a poor peasant-woman, who was not even beautiful, who was a spinner and seamstress, and who was betrothed at the time, after her bridegroom, who was a carpenter, had heard of her connection with a soldier, Panthera, and had cast her out in shame and

* 1, 28. 40. 48. 58. 67. 68. 71.

† 2, 13. 15. 2, 26 (Comp. 19), 27. 32.

‡ 2, 28. et seq

§ 2, 54, et sec.

misery, in spite of all the eloquence of her defence. Jesus was forced by need and poverty to become an hireling in Egypt. But he learned there various secret arts, and in reliance on these he returned home, where he proclaimed himself to be God, and in vanity and pride, untruthfulness and impiety, he misled the people from their faith, especially since he was liberal enough to admit others to the sonship of God.* With ten or eleven miscreants, publicans and sailors, the vilest of men, he went about the country, begging his bread with difficulty, and in shameful flight, after he had been declared an outlaw.† Finally, he was seized, and indeed betrayed by his own followers, by whom he was less loved than, not merely a general, but than the captain of a band of robbers.‡ He cried and moaned, he was bound, and mocked with a purple robe, a crown of thorns, a sceptre, and words of contumely, the blood of God flowed, he did not come down from the cross, he who had condemned him triumphed with impunity, and he appeared as risen to none but Magdalen.§

The life of Jesus from the pen of Celsus requires no contradiction, however terrible the weapons of his critical acumen may be, led on by his heathen animosity to the person of Jesus and, further, to the whole of Christianity. It is only necessary to observe that we do not here gain any new life of Jesus. He has contradicted himself, "slain with his own weapons," since he at the same time ascribes to Jesus the most beautiful sayings in his sermon on the mount, and expressly declares in the fifth book, that heathen philosophy has already said it all before, only with greater beauty and accuracy, and that Christianity reveals itself as a misunderstood and maimed philosophy. It is therefore a philosophy, and not merely a deceit. In truth, *the* philosophy with which he may come to terms in the midst of the fearful persecution, from which he may only desire some concessions to heathenism. And here is a marvel:

* 1, 28. 37. 39. 48. 2, 7.
† 1, 66. 2, 46.
‡ 2, 8-10.
§ 2, 33-37, 68-73.

Celsus perceives that Christianity cannot and will not give way, but cannot Celsus give way? When he himself says that the supreme God, whom the Christians worship, must never be forsaken, when he, with the philosophers, deprecates the worship of sensual demons, that is, of the gods, which stands nearest to conversion, the weak reed of the wisdom of this world, or the might of Christianity?

PART II.—CHRISTIAN SOURCES.

The range of sources is contracting: the curiosity which has been diligently seeking and gathering on Jewish and heathen ground, is thrown back on Christian ground with little reward or satisfaction. Here, at all events, there is still a wide field. While gleaning wherever it is possible the histories, signs, and solutions which are outside those records of the New Testament, which are hallowed by the faith and customs of the Church, we may at once relinquish the attempt to listen to old verbal traditions of natural growth, old Gospels which have been laid aside and the old sects which have been expelled from the Church. We quickly return from assumed antiquities to that which is really old, from the abandoned out-works to the strong fortress of faith and conscience which has been erected in our Gospels.

I.—Christian Sources outside the New Testament.

The mass of scattered remarks made by Christian historians of the first century on the life and teaching of Jesus may here be distinguished from the larger records as to the life of Jesus which have been wholly or in part preserved and collected under the name of Apocryphal Gospels. So far as such utterances are related to these Gospels, or are based upon them, they need not be specially noticed, and indeed it is possible that even the isolated remarks which appear to be independent of them are, often without our knowledge, derived from such Gospels.

So much must, however, here be admitted, that these traditions of the Fathers will add little to the life of Jesus as a whole. We simply add to the Gospels this or that story, this

or that word, from which the life may, by some favourable chance, receive a certain fresh light, while its general form is neither defined nor altered. Add to this, that an apparently fresh communication is often found to rest only upon a freer rendering, sometimes on an expansion, sometimes again, and especially in the more exact chronology of the dates of the birth of Jesus, his ministry, and his death, on a more successful calculation of the histories of our Gospels, without any fresh sources, so that that which is really new is only a slender remnant. In the last century these remains have been collected, but rather of the words of Jesus than of his acts, and this collection will not in any way satisfy our present needs.*

Since we would not withhold from any enquirer, a slight account of the sources of which this history may afterwards avail itself, we may say that there are several accounts of the origin of Jesus: Justin Martyr, as well as Irenæus, describes Mary's descent from David, the covenants with the twelve patriarchs, and the descent of Jesus from the tribes of Judah and Levi: Julius Africanus gives the pedigrees and abodes of his family, and Hegesippus the names of his nearest kindred. Justin describes the Baptist at Jordan, and the appearance of Jesus, and the Epistle of Barnabas gives a fresh description of his choice of disciples, saying that Jesus chose the vilest of sinners to be his apostles (according to Matt. ix. 13). Clement of Alexandria gives the names of the seventy disciples, Clement of Rome, in his homilies, those of the Canaanite woman and her sick daughter: Justa and Berenice (Veronica). Eusebius describes a memorial erected in Paneas out of gratitude by the woman with an issue of blood. The same Clement tells that

* Comp. Grabii spicilegium patrum, 1700, I. 12, et seq. dicta aliqua Jesu Christi. Fabricius, Cod. apoch. N. T. 1703, I. 322, et seq. de dictis Christi, &c. Koerner de sermon. Jesu ἀγράφοις, 1766. Translation of these words of Jesus by K. Hofmann, Leb. Jes. n. d. Apokryphen, 1851, p. 317, et seq. These collections are not altogether satisfactory, since several sayings do not survive, according to more modern criticism (such as the saying of Barnabas) and besides accurate examination, order and series are wanting.

the rumour of the appearance of Jesus spread to Rome, where astonished multitudes assembled: Clement of Alexandria tells of his latest gifts and injunctions to his disciples, of the gift of knowledge to those he best loved, and his command that they should go from Jerusalem to the heathen after twelve years, and Papias relates the death of Judas of Kerioth. Much also is told by Justin and later writers of the attitude and opinions of the Jews and Gentiles.

We may at once pass over those sayings of Jesus which are not admitted by modern criticism, such as those in the Epistle of Barnabas, which have been so often recorded, as well as the slight differences in the text which are to be found between the quotations of the oldest authors and our Gospels, or in the manuscripts themselves.* A number of variations are important, and will be considered, for example in the sayings of Jesus concerning the knowledge of the Father and the Son, of the new birth, and of oaths. Others are merely a free treatment or glosses of the same text which we possess, for the most part derived from sources not by any means more ancient than our Gospels; if indeed they are not altogether valueless beside the received text, as we may have to show in each instance in the proper place.† It may here be interesting to remark that the older church together with our Gospels, which first won their exclusive estimation, in a four-fold form, towards the end of the second century, made use of other Gospels, not indeed older and better than our own, as Justin

* Thus the saying so constantly quoted from Barn. 4: resistamus omni iniquitati et odio haeramus eam, may be explained from a consideration of the Sinaitic MS. It is not: sicut dicit filius Dei, but: sicut decet filios Dei. (Gr. ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς). Comp. Volkmar. Urspr. d. Ev. 1866. p. 117. A single instance of a variation of the text of a MS. of our N. Test. itself in Luke x. 42.

† Thus, in the saying in Clem. and Orig. d. orat. § 2: *αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται*, is evidently only fashioned out of Matt. vi. 33. The saying, 2 Clem. 8, Iren. 2, 34, 3, is from Luke xvi. 10. So again the saying of Jesus, Matt. x. 16, 28, is in 2 Clem. 5, &c., elaborately expanded into a dialogue between Jesus and Peter: Petrus ait, si autem lupi agnos discerpserint, &c.

Martyr shows, but that ours gradually obtained their prominent position from the beginning of that century, and that the important men of the second century were by no means, as Credner gathers from Justin Martyr, in possession of other sources, which made them indifferent to our Gospels, and despisers of the fare provided in them.*

A lesser number of communications, particularly sayings, remain which differ somewhat from our Gospels. But many of these have no special characteristic compared to ours, whether they were really spoken by Jesus or fashioned by the Church on the groundwork of the old material. There are also statements like these: "On account of the weak I became weak, on account of the hungry I was an-hungered, and on account of the thirsty I was athirst," which may recall Matth. xxv. 35. "Seek to increase from small things, and to become small from the great" (comp. Matth. xx. 26, Luke xvi 10). "Those who see me and will lay hold of my kingdom must seize me through anguish and suffering" (comp. Matth. xvi. 24, Acts xiv. 22).† The precept very frequently appears, especially in the Clementine homilies: "Be ye good usurers," recalling Matth. xxv. 27, and perhaps an aftergrowth from it. So also the saying: "Wherein I seize you, therein I judge you" (comp. Matth. xxiv. 40, xxv. 1). "When you are gathered in my bosom, and keep not my commandments, I will put you away, saying, Depart from me, I know

* Comp. the researches of Semisch. (apost. Denkwürdig. des Märt. Justin. 1848), Bindemann, Frank, Credner, Zeller, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar. While Credner (Gsch. d. N. T. Kanon, ed. Volkmar, 1860, p. 9,) still asserts that Justin had made little or no use of other Gospels (ours in particular), in addition to the approved Gospel of Peter, Volkmar now admits (Urspr. d. Ev. S. 91:) that Justin was fully acquainted with our synoptical Gospels, and quoted from them, but without naming their superscriptions.

† Comp. Orig. in Matt. xvii. 21: *και I. γουν φησι διὰ τους ασθεν. ὄντους ησθένουν και διὰ τοὺς πεινωντας ἐπείνων, και δια τους διψῶντας εδιψων.* Matt. xx. 28, in Cod. Bez., *ὑμεῖς δε ζητεῖτε εκ μικροῦ αυξήσαι καὶ εκ μειζονος ἔλαττον ειναι.* In like manner, Leo. M. ep. 55 ad Pulch: qui de pusillo volebant erescere, et de infimis ad summa transire. The 3rd saying in Barn. 7: *οἱ θελοντές με ἰδειν καὶ αψασθαι μου της βασιλειας ὀφειλουσι θλιβεντες και παθοντες λαβειν με.*

you not, ye workers of iniquity"* (comp. Matth. vii. 22, 23, 37). These and several other places may be easily adapted to our Gospels.

The saying which Irenæus ascribes to Jesus is more enigmatical: "I have often desired to hear one of these words, and I have no one who utters it," if it describes the unsatisfied yearning of Jesus after recognition. But his own discernment had found the opposite (comp. Matth. xiii. 17).† Some other sayings would absolutely contradict the character of Jesus, as we become acquainted with it elsewhere. In the so-called manuscript of Beza (of the sixth century), Jesus, after the passage in Luke vi. 5, meets with a man who was working on the Sabbath. "Man," said he to him, "if thou knowest what thou art doing, thou art blessed, but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed, and a transgressor of the law." Beza has already doubted about this saying, although on insufficient grounds: the teaching of Jesus will show that the just medium in the celebration of the holy Sabbath was declared by Jesus to consist in its freedom, even for daily work, not for the wise only, but whoever acted righteously. In still stronger contrast to his teaching, as it has been elsewhere credibly handed down to us, and even to the very being of Jesus, were the sayings of the Lord collected by Irenæus, in other respects a capable witness, out of the mouth of old disciples of John, the Lord's follower, and of which it seemed to him that the authenticity was confirmed by a glance at the writings of Papias, asserted to have been a scholar of John's in the middle of the second century. John related the words of the Lord concerning the times of the kingdom of God: the days would come when vines would grow,

* Clem. Hom. 2, 51. 3, 50. 18. 20. *γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι.* Comp. also other quotations in Anger. Sinopsis, 1852, p. 204, 274. Just. Tryph. 47: *ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς κατάλαβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ χρινῶ.* 2 Clem. 4: *ἐάν ἦτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν. κ. τ. λ.* This does not show that in this place or C. 5, 8, we are to think of the Egypt. Ev. as C. 12, and 9, fin.

† Haer. 1, 20. Epiph xxxiv. 8. Comp. Fabricius. Cod. ap. N. T. I. 333: *πολλάκις ἐπεθύμησα ἀκοῦσαι ἕνα τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἐροῦντα.*

each with 10,000 shoots, and to each shoot 10,000 branches, and to each branch 10,000 twigs, and to each twig 10,000 clusters, and to each cluster 10,000 grapes, and each grape which is crushed will yield twenty-five measures of wine. And when one of the saints will reach after one of these clusters, another will cry: "I am a better cluster than it: take me, and praise the Lord because of me." Likewise, a grain of wheat will produce 10,000 ears, each ear 10,000 grains, each grain ten pounds of fine white flour. Other fruits, and seeds, and herbs in proportion. The whole brute creation, feeding on such things as the earth brings forth, will become sociable and peaceable together, and subject to man with all humility.* To these parables and teachings of the Lord, to this sensuous kingdom of God, which was to begin with the resurrection and endure for a thousand years, as related by Papias, who was believed by Irenæus and many others to be the man of ancient days, Eusebius has objected, openly blaming this man, in other respects so important to him, as having assented to myths and strange misunderstandings of the apostolic tradition: and we also, considering that the spiritual sphere of the thought of Jesus was free from sensuousness, his natural intelligence without fancifulness, and finally that he maintained a modest reserve about the things of the future, are in a position to show that the fable has been coarsely and carelessly put together out of the predictions and parables of Jesus.†

These traditions therefore, even of the earliest fathers, so highly prized by R. Hofmann, offer remarkably little or nothing. And if we were to undertake to relate the first "Life of Jesus," according to the Fathers, as it is collected in the first book of the Church history of Eusebius, we might indeed learn much from his diligent use of Josephus and of other earlier writings, but also as much which is fabulous, calculations and

* Iren. Haer. 5, 33, 3—4 (ib. Judas the traitor doubted, hence said Jesus: videbunt qui venient in illa.)

† Comp. Eus. 3, 39, and the change of opinion, 3, 36.

connections which were misinterpreted, and, at the very outset, the "Deity" must be accepted at the cost of regarding the life in an unreal aspect.

Among the many Gospel treatises which are independent of the four admitted by the Church, several which are very ancient take a place, but of these only fragments are extant, the "Jewish" Gospel of the Hebrews, also called the Gospel of Peter, or of the twelve apostles, and diverging into the two main branches of the Gospel of the Nazarenes and of the Ebionites, and the Gospel of the Egyptians.*

The Gospel of the Hebrews, of which we have evidence, dating from the end of the second century, and which may be traced back to the middle of the same century, is a noteworthy companion of our first Gospel. Related to it in a hundred ways, written in Hebrew, and tenaciously maintained by the believing Jews, faithful to their tradition, to be the true and only Gospel, even more than the genuine Gospel of the Apostle Matthew, it has from the time of Jerome down to Lessing, Baur, and Hilgenfeld, been considered or conjectured to be the original Matthew, and this is now again disputed by modern criticism, and it is declared to be a later production, deduced from Matthew's Gospel as it now stands. The Introduction to the New Testament was intended to put an end to this battle; but since it is not yet fought out, especially since the fresh Apology, which Hilgenfeld wrote for this work in the year 1863, it concerns us to decide whether the life of Jesus can be founded on this Gospel or upon that Gospel of Matthew which was early preferred by the Church and which is considered by many to be more ancient, and indeed the oldest of all the Gospels.†

The question as to the precedence of the Hebrew Matthew and

* Comp. Orig. hom. in Luc. 1: ecclesia habet IV. Ev. hæresis plurima. Ir. 13, 11, 9.

† The fragments collected by Grabe, spicil. patr. I. 25, et seq. Fabricius, 1, 346, et seq. Credner, Beiträge I. 380, et seq. De Wette, Einl. N. T. 6 A. 1860, p. 97, et seq. Anger, Synopsis, 1852. Hilgenfeld, Zeitschrift, 1863. And again in his N. T. extra canonem rec. 1866.

of our Matthew can not at once be absolutely decided, as on the one side there is the conservative spirit of Jewish Christianity, the old ecclesiastical tradition of an original Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, the active use made of it by ecclesiastical authors, and finally the striking observation that in one place the Gospel corresponds with our Matthew, in another with Luke, in another with John, and may so far be considered as the original source of supply: for our Matthew, on the other hand, there is, together with its preference by the Church, its genuinely Greek origin, which is continually becoming more generally admitted, and which decidedly forbids the old assumption that it was merely translated from the Hebrew, and this is particularly confirmed by its complete superiority to the fragments of the Hebrew Gospel, which can still be accurately traced. And this decides the matter. We are not acquainted with the original form of the Hebrew, and are therefore constrained to reserve our judgment; but on the other hand, the form of the Gospel, which we can actually discover, from the middle of the second century, plainly bears the marks of a later composition than our Matthew, and these are still more apparent, and indeed indisputable, onwards through the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. It is indeed no sign of the otherwise critical acuteness of Hilgenfeld, that he does not assign the several fragments of the Gospel to their several centuries, but throws them together, and that he has vehemently vindicated its superiority to our Matthew in its latest form, dating from Jerome, at the close of the fourth, and at the beginning of the fifth centuries.

We may admit that the Gospel of the Hebrews has corrected the Gospel text in some particulars, or has given it so accurately that our Matthew is partly explained and partly improved by it: it may possibly be found that it has made use of the older form in some of Jesus' sayings, as the writers of the second century have preferred to think: but by far the greater part of the fragments show an infinite want of the simplicity and originality which distinguish Matthew. Justin Martyr had,

(in the middle of the second century), as is generally believed, drawn from the Hebrew Gospel; but if his assertions about the birth of Jesus in the cave, his work as a carpenter, and the confirmation by fire of the miracle worked at his baptism in Jordan refer to the Gospel of the Hebrews, of which at any rate the first and third were in later times gleaned out of this Gospel, which were actually the originals? At the end of the second century, Clement of Alexandria borrowed this saying from the Gospel: "He who marvels will rule, and the ruler will enter into his rest," a saying which, in its narrow obscurity, reminds us of the Apocryphal writings, and especially of the fiction of the Egyptian Gospel.* Origen, at the beginning of the second century, takes altogether from this Gospel an ascent of Jesus into the air, sustained by the Holy Spirit and by one of his mother's hairs, related by himself, and an extremely ordinary story of two kingdoms, which appears to be altogether a corruption of Matt. xix. 16.† The form in which it appears in Jerome a century and a half later sinks to a still lower depth of apocryphal and worthless history. The baptism of Jesus who, as sinless, drew back from the Jordan in the presence of his mother and brothers, the descent of the Spirit, which found no abiding rest with any of the prophets, the resurrection of Jesus, who gave his linen grave-clothes to the servant of the High Priest, his appearance to his brother James, who had eaten nothing since the supper (which had in fact been held without him), and must now sit at meat with him: this and much else show so much that has been added in stiff dogmatism, as well as the bright and varied colouring which is inconsistent with history, that hardly any one will be tempted to ascribe to these startling "evidences" of Hilgenfeld the credit of originality.‡ Together with these stories, which directly refer to the life of Jesus, are the special sayings of Jesus, of no greater importance, which are preserved in this Gospel. Perhaps the most significant (mentioned by

* Strom. 2, 9, § 45: ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαυθήσεται.

† See the passages in De Wette, p. 98.

‡ Ib. 101, et seq.

Jerome) is this: "Never rejoice, when you have not looked upon your brother in love."* The addition to the admonition to Peter to forgive an offender seventy times seven, shows how much a later dogmatic tone had invaded the province of his words: "For also in the prophets, after they were anointed by the Holy Spirit, is there found mention of sinfulness."† It is enough, for the present, to adduce these facts: we need not enter into the Jewish motives for this later version of the Gospel.

The Hebrew Gospel of the exclusively Jewish sect of the Ebionites, fragments of which Epiphanius has quoted towards the end of the fourth century, is still further removed from originality.‡ In single instances, as in the story of the baptism, the original form of the Gospel of the Hebrews may have been better preserved than in the Gospel of the Nazarenes of Jerome; but the record of Matthew is interpolated with fragments of Luke, and the peculiar point of view of their sect is recklessly introduced. The appointment of the twelve apostles is unhistorical. The early miraculous history is struck out, since the Ebionites believed in the natural birth of Jesus. By perversion of the Greek words of our Matthew and Luke, they have expressed their abstinence from animal food. Their dislike to sacrifice, which was half Essene and half Christian, underlies this saying of Jesus, which he could not have spoken, and which evidently points to a time when Jerusalem had been destroyed. "I am come to destroy sacrifice, and if ye cease not to sacrifice, wrath will not be turned away from you."§

By Clement of Alexandria, and in the second epistle of Clement of Rome, some remains of the Gospel of the Egyptians are principally preserved: it must therefore have appeared tolerably

* Et nunquam, inquit, laeti sitis, nisi quum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate. Comm. Eph. 5, 3.

† De Wette, p. 102.

‡ Epiph. haer. xxx. Connection in De Wette, p. 98, et seq. Also the foregoing sources of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

§ Epiph. xxx. § 16: *ἠλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας ἐὰν μὴ παύσηθσε τοῦ θύειν, οὐ παύσεται αφ' ὑμῶν η ὀργή.*

early, in any case about the middle of the second century. "When cometh the kingdom of Christ? when two are one, from without as well as from within, the man with the woman, neither man nor woman." "I am come to destroy the works of the woman." Again, that Jesus asked of Salome if she had destroyed the garment of shame. And that he replied to her question how long death should rule: "As long as ye women bear children." And again, when she commended herself for having born no children: "Eat of this plant, and not of that one, which is bitter." These sayings reveal nothing of the Lord: his precepts were no mere refining, nor did his doctrine seek to save the world by mere continence. The Gospel of the Egyptians is the work of a gloomy, self-sufficient ascetic, and on account of its asceticism, and its obscure mysteries, it was rejected by the church.*

It is a significant fact, that as far as we can perceive from this Gospel, and from the unreserved records of the Fathers, a hundred years after Christ, every independent and really valuable tradition about this life is merged in our Gospels, and that only an increasing volume of fables flow beside them, assuming to add to their fulness. This impression is fully confirmed in glancing over the multitude of wholly apocryphal Gospels, or writings of the nature of Gospels, which still remain, after the salutary loss of many others (for who did not write Gospels?) and which are at our disposal, onwards from the second century, even if we at once thankfully reject the later and latest productions of this literature, with their overflowing perversions. This literature was first partly collected by Fabricius, and more fully by Thilo and Tischendorf, and it was also quoted and translated by Rud. Hoffmann in his life of Jesus according to the

* Clem. str. 3, 9. 13. 2. Clem. 12. Comp. Schneckenburger on the Gospel of the Egyptians, 1834. The remains in Grabe, I. 35, et seq., Fabricius, I. 335, et seq.. De Wette, § 118. The saying from Pseudolinus d. pass. Petri (Fabr. p. 335) of dextra and sinistra, and that in Clem. 8 fin. must most probably take a place in this Gospel.

Apocrypha.* The several treatises rest throughout on our Gospels, but they aim at describing more exactly the most important and obscure parts of the outward life of Jesus, his advent and his birth, his years of childhood, the names of his followers, his death, his resurrection and ascension, in order to satisfy pious or profane curiosity, as well as the vivid imagination and the love of the miraculous of those times, and sometimes also to give support to ecclesiastical or to heretical opinions. Throughout, there is seldom anything that is profitable, and even that is of doubtful authority: they are contributions to church history, but not to the life of Jesus, or only so far as this, that the light of our Gospels is heightened by the shade, or, in the most favourable case, that certain aspects of our Gospels have received a statuesque, but for the most part a coarser form. It is from this point of view that the life of Jesus is concerned with them.

A passing word therefore on the earliest of these Gospels. The Gospel of James, the Gospel of Thomas, and the Acts of Pilate, are traced back to the second century. Amplifications of a later date are not excluded, but Justin and Clement of Alexandria give the first traces of the first of these books, while it is expressly mentioned by Origen. The Gospel of Thomas, to which Irenæus first alludes, is also acknowledged by name by Origen. First Justin, then Tertullian and Eusebius, have spoken of the Acts of Pilate. The book of James describes the two miraculous births, Mary's own, and the birth of Jesus himself, in a medley of beautiful and revolting fancies. Thomas unrolls the miraculous life of the child and boy Jesus, who completely ceases to be human. The Acts of Pilate show, on the strength of our Gospels, including that of John, the condemnation of the guiltless man, for whom Pilate and the Roman soldiers, the sick

* Fabricius, Cod. ap. N. T. 1, 2, 1703, 3, 1719. Thilo, C. A. N. T. I. 1832. Tischendorf, ev. Apocrypha, 1853. Tischendorf, de ev. ap. origine et usu, 1851. Hoffmann, Das Leb. Jes. n. d. Apokryphen, 1851. Comp. the art. in Herzog Pseudepigraphien des N. T.

who had been healed, and friends as well as enemies plead; then the resurrection and ascension, of which the reality was proved by witnesses of every kind, even by that of Annas and Caiaphas. To these acts are appended a quantity of general literature and legends, a report of Pilate's (Anaphora Pilati), the condemnation of the imprisoned Pilate by Tiberius (Paradosis), the proposal of Tiberius to the Roman Senate to place Jesus among the gods, which is mentioned by Tertullian, and this last book has been since the fifth century joined to the so-called Gospel of Nicodemus, as well as the equally ancient descent of Christ to hell (descensus ad inferos).*

The correspondence of Jesus with the prince (toparch) Abgarus of Edessa in Syria, accepted by the Church historian Eusebius, and copied and faithfully translated from the archives of that place, must date from the third century. Compared to the other letters ascribed to Jesus, as for example those to Paul and Peter, this must appear to be at any rate one of the best and most ancient. As Naaman the Syrian once did to Elisha, Abgarus implores the physician of the blind and the lame, who was God, or the Son of God, to relieve his sickness, and he offers a small but friendly refuge in Edessa to him who was persecuted by the Jews of Jerusalem. Jesus answered, in the words of John, the beloved disciple, to him that hath not seen, and yet hath believed, that he has no time to come, but that he will, when his work is fulfilled, and he has returned to his Father, send one of his disciples. And this also came to pass.†

The pseudo-Gospel of Matthew, appearing in the time of Jerome, and the history of Joseph the carpenter, will bring us down much lower, at earliest, into the fifth century. They set forth, together with our Gospels, the beginnings of the fabulous

* Comp. briefly the proofs of Tischendorf, de ev. ap. orig. et usu, 1851. The Acta Pilati already quoted from Justin, ap. I. 35. The adverse Acta from the date of the persecutions in the fourth century. Eus. I. 9. 11. 9, 5. 7. Tertullian's account of Tiberius, apolog. 5, 21. Eus. 2, 2. Chron. pasch. ed. Dind. 1, 4, 30.

† This correspondence is in Euseb. 1, 13.

Gospels of James and Thomas, and Matthew in particular is in a certain sense the connection and enlargement of James and Thomas. The life and death of Joseph is told from the mouth of Jesus at the mount of Olives, when he was full of the most earnest sorrow because the doom of death was extended to Joseph and Mary, but full also of Christian triumph, and this may be counted among the best of these attempts, although we must set it aside as merely the disguise of later dogmatic ideas, and therefore useless for historical purposes.

We are wholly dis-illusioned by such an endless, unproductive, and misleading world of myths, which has promised and still vainly continues to promise us facts, authentic sayings, either letters or noteworthy reminiscences, and we escape from the deceitful illusion in order to seek our final support and aid in the Gospels, our sources in the New Testament.* We return to them with greater courage, because the downfall of all which surrounds the old records of the Church seems to warrant their enduring strength and greatness. But to these also doubt has extended in the general downfall, and it is well known that grave doubts have assailed the bulwark of Christianity, however its fate may differ from that of its forerunners.

II.—Range of the Sources of the New Testament.

Since even here it is impossible altogether to banish doubt, it is necessary to state questions, to admit weak points, to reserve others, possibly indeed to confirm the failure of the supposed sources, so only, that firm ground for further progress may stand under our feet, and that we may rest from our weariness, and gain fresh courage for the new trials and sacrifices of a critical campaign. In order to discover this firm ground, and with it a secure resting place from which to enter on further action,

* Comp. Eus. 7, 18, as well as the numerous scripta, quæ ad Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum relata sunt. Fabric. I. 303—321.

it is needful at this day to consider the Apostle Paul and his writings, which are earlier and less doubtful than the Gospels.

A.—*The Witness of Paul.*

We have no earlier witness than the Apostle Paul: hence, we will collect all the earliest testimony under his name, and in connection with it we will mention the contributions which this or that older source of the New Testament offer to the life of Jesus.

The year of his conversion to Christianity differs according to different authors: it varies between A.D. 31—41, but the date is now commonly fixed as A.D. 36—38. This is not the place for such a research. But it is enough for us to know that Paul, from the year 40 to the year 64, the year of his death under the Emperor Nero, had proclaimed Jesus to be the Christ throughout the Roman Empire from east to west. This active work, and the work of Jesus, was at the most separated by a decade: in our estimation, only by two years, if Jesus died in the year 35, and Paul was converted in the year 37. So that indeed it is now the conviction of many critics that Paul, though still unbelieving, had himself known, seen and heard the Lord: and this surmise need not rest only on 2 Cor. v. 16, but yet more on the Apostle's course of life, who, as it appears, had lived in Jerusalem from his youth until his riper age, at the time of the execution of the first Christian martyr Stephen, and until his conversion, when he was struck down by the storm on the way to Damascus: he must therefore, as well as the Pharisees who were his teachers, have interested himself in the new Galilean prophet, from his disputing in the temple until his crucifixion.*

Undoubtedly the conversion of Paul was effected, neither by

* Olshausen, Niedner, Ewald, Beyschlag, and Diestelmann have expressed themselves in favour of his acquaintance with Jesus, and Baur, Renan, and Hilgenfeld are against it. The passage 2 Cor. v. 16, does not allow us to stretch the *knowing* into an *accepting*: the form of the statement is simply a concession, and the apostle is the subject which governs in *we*. But the fact of Paul's presence in Jerusalem in the lifetime of Jesus gives this probable meaning to the passage.

his personal observation of the earthly Jesus, nor by his later knowledge of his words and deeds, but rather by his belief in the vision of one glorified in Heaven, and in the inward revelation of God by means of the Son of God, and his faith in Christ was from that time confirmed rather by inward than by outward facts. Undoubtedly, and as a consequence of this, his whole Christianity and his apostolic teaching was rather a conception resting on his faith in the Messiah who had come to reveal himself in glory, than a faithful and living memory of the words and works of the historical Jesus, like the Christianity of the other apostles. Undoubtedly he not only rarely gives us the sayings and acts of Jesus verbally, while his active mind is busied in deducing consequences of infinite width from the facts of the death and resurrection of Jesus, but he so confuses conceptions and matters of fact, making facts into conceptions, and conceptions into facts, that the facts themselves seem to fade from the hands which would weigh them, because they are conceptions. Thus it has come to pass that his witness has sunk in the scale, and that of late the arguments adduced out of Paul are met by the most subtle critics with the objection that they offer stones for bread, the figments of thought for facts.*

In this however there is much exaggeration. Paul has not been indifferent to historical facts. We may appeal to the information about the life of Jesus, which was in the one case offered, and in the other pressed upon him in Jerusalem, in Damascus, and in Antioch, in the person of Ananias, of Barnabas, of Silas, of Philip, and of Mnason, as well as in those of the Apostles and Christians of the holy city, and he himself, which is by no means a proof of long indifference to the story with which he was already partly acquainted, journeyed to Jeru-

* Comp. among others Baur, Jahrb. 1852. 38. The word of Christ = the True: or the modern judgments of Paul's assertions of the descent of Jesus from David, my Gesch. Christ. p. 78. Paul is justly estimated in the excellent treatise by Paret, Paulus und Jesus, in the Jahrb. deutsch. Theolog. III. 1858. Comp. Weizsäcker. p. 6, et seq.

salem at the close of the third year after his conversion, expressly with the object of becoming acquainted with Peter, and certainly not merely with his principles, but with what he had known of Jesus. But it is enough for us to know what his letters declare. There he dwells upon the Christian tradition, and it does not appear as if he cared only for the general facts of the crucifixion, the burial and the resurrection.* He seeks after the sayings of Christ, even in the most minute directions for married or celibate life, for the married and the single; he knows of words of Jesus, concerning his return for the dead and the living, concerning the outward life of the apostles, he has independent maxims of morality, which remind us the more of the sayings of Jesus, because his estimate of the moral aspects of the kingdom of God, was certainly not attained without a distinct knowledge of the teaching of Jesus.† The author of the Acts of the Apostles has reported from his mouth one splendid saying of the Lord's, which is found neither in the Gospels nor in the Apostle's epistles: "It is more blessed to give than to receive."‡ Finally, he has, on the most decisive points of Christian teaching, in the enquiry into the meaning of the death of Jesus, and into the reality of his resurrection, adduced an amount of really historical evidence, accompanying it with historical proofs, which raises his information to a level with the historical books of the evangelists, and above the first conceptions of the apostolic age about the death of Jesus.§ It may therefore be fairly assumed that the life of Jesus was far more within his view than it now appears to us, because he had already set forth in his epistles the groundwork of the tradition, and the description of the form of Christ which was ever before his eyes, and because, again, it is characteristic of his turn of mind, instead of recount-

* Traditions, 1 Cor. ii. 1, xv. 1-3.

† 1 Cor. vii. 10, xi. 23. 1 Thess. iv. 15. 1 Cor. ix. 14. Comp. Rom. x. 10, with Matt. x. 32. Similar sayings, e.g. Rom. xii. 14, et seq. 1 Thess. v. 2.

‡ Acts xx. 35.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 1.

ing the facts, to turn those which are genuine at once into a system.* Where does Paul speak of the authentic revelations of Jesus when he so often explains the aim and significance of the cross of Christ? But we owe it to chance, the disorders of the Corinthians' love-feasts, that a picture of the historical last supper of Jesus is unrolled to us, which proves that the aim of Jesus was in full harmony with the Apostle's preaching of the cross. Where does Paul, in his demands for a new rule of life for the Christians, in his proclamations of a holy kingdom of God, speak of the precepts of Jesus? But it is owing to accident, the Corinthian doubts about marriage, that the Apostle's acquaintance with the moral sphere of Jesus is plainly revealed.

It were also easy to show that Paul must be compared with himself, both historically and critically. His conversion was accomplished through doubts and denial, and his whole tone of mind was always eminently logical: he was uneasy when he had not firm conceptions, and could not deduce certain consequences, and when he did not answer all objections before they were stated. Shall we now assume that he believed in the Messiah and was unable to trouble himself, unless in a superficial and general way, about the facts of his life which might have supported or undermined his faith? There are two important inferences which we should draw from this. In the first place, that the belief of the Apostle must rest on such a comprehensive knowledge of the life of Jesus as was altogether independent of the scanty notices which we possess of his person, which confirmed all the great deductions of his thought, and set forth a personality in its blamelessness and nobility, as it was founded on his own knowledge and that of others. And secondly, the Apostle's knowledge did not consist in a blind traffic in ill-considered Christian tradition, collected in various ways, but it is, as his proofs of the truth of the resurrection

* The communities were to hold fast the traditions, 1 Cor. xi. 1. xv. 1-3. Designation of Christ, Gal. iii. 1. *Σοφία ἐν τοῖς τελείοις.* 1 Cor. ii. 6.

especially show, obtained by a keen, clear, searching and questioning consideration, comparison, collection and collation of the materials which were accessible to him. He is not thereby asserted to be a perfect and infallible critic: he is in accordance with the measure of his time, and of his people, and his belief in a Messiah has certainly made him more ready to accept several historical assumptions.

But, in conclusion, is it true that facts and conceptions are in every case inextricably confused by Paul? It must here be conceded that the existence of the Messiah before the beginning of time, his incarnation, and the aim of his death, namely the abolition of the law, the calling of the Gentiles, and participation in the sonship of God,—these things seemed to the Apostle to be as much matters of fact as the birth, death and resurrection: that therefore conceptions and opinions, as they were formed by him, are directly converted by him into facts, which we are unable to represent as directly such. But such confusions are in the first place rare, and they are unobjectionable, and to be readily explained. The history of Eternity does not claim to be history in the strictest sense, but only becomes such in the strong conviction of the writer. But if the temporal history of Jesus is obscured, as perhaps it is in the definition of the purpose of his death, which appears to have arisen partly out of the later facts of Christianity, and of Christian consciousness, yet we must remember that Paul found in these later facts the ordained will of the glorified Head of the Church, and in this respect a continuation of his real history; while we, supported by the Apostle himself, are in a position to draw a sharper distinction between the history of Jesus in his lifetime, and after he was glorified. But when the Apostle, setting aside this strange confusion of temporal and eternal history, makes a series of assertions concerning the temporal life of Jesus, giving them to us, simply as a matter of fact and with no ulterior objects to be attained, need we then complain of the confusion of facts and conceptions, and can we

believe that on a subject where only the real facts could have any meaning for himself and others, and where they could be verified by friend and foe, he should have given a dogmatic colouring to the facts?

What then did Paul know of the life of Jesus? As of a man, born of a woman, like ourselves, an Israelite of the family of David, growing up under the law from his birth, poor as to things of this world, he is in truth the Christ, yea, the Son of God who has also become a man.* Strong in the spirit, weak in the flesh, which was like our own, he had not known nor committed sin, he fulfilled, as no other has done, the requirements of God's righteousness, he lovingly served Israel, choosing apostles for Israel, and by teaching, and even more, by virtue of his office, strengthened also by signs and wonders, he proclaimed moral laws, a moral kingdom of God.† We do not touch more closely upon the most important question of later times, his relation to the law and to the Gentile world. This much is certain, that Paul, in his great conflict for the privileges of the Gentiles, and the freedom in Christ from the law, has not appealed to the words of Jesus, and he has indeed expressly acknowledged that the work of Jesus was historically limited to Israel, and that he was placed under the law from his birth to his death.‡ He knew both of the rules and commandments of Jesus together with the law, and of a "law of Christ," to which he himself was subject, while rejecting the law of Moses: and he goes so far as to speak of a "new covenant," which Jesus had expressly declared that he would found by his death, and of the purpose of Jesus to set men free from the law by his death, and to reconcile the Gentile world to God, and not only the Jews.§ We have freely admitted that

* Comp. Gal. iv. 4. Rom. i. 3, v. 12, et seq. ix. 5. 2 Cor. viii. 9.

† 2 Cor. iii. 17. xiii. 4. Rom. viii. 3. 2 Cor. v. 21. Rom. v. 18, 19. xv. 8. Gal. ii. 7. 1 Cor. ix. 14. 2 Cor. xii. 12. 1 Cor. vii. 10, et seq. comp. vi. 9. Gal. v. 21.

‡ Rom. xv. 8. Gal. iv. 4.

§ 1 Cor. vii. 10. 1 Cor. ix. 21. Rom. viii. 2. New covenant. 1 Cor. xi. 25, essentially also in Matt. xxvi. 28. The purpose, Gal. iii. 13.

in ascribing such a purpose in his death, Paul removes it out of the present, and we must now add that such an interpretation could not stand if it were in striking contradiction to the facts of the earthly life of Jesus. The historical Jesus, whom he had known, although he was actually subject to the law throughout his life, and was restricted to the worship of Judaism, must yet have shown in his actions and words something reaching beyond and embracing Judaism and its law, since Paul defined the purpose of his death purely in the sense of an escape from the national limits, and defined the national subjection of the foregoing life of Jesus in the sense of a voluntary sacrifice. The reassuring proof lies indeed in the independent commands of Jesus, to which Paul appeals, and in the saying of infinite meaning which he quotes from the mouth of Jesus: the new covenant. His whole interpretation is more intelligible, when we remember that the Hellenistic tradition of the life of Jesus, under the influence of which he came, represented the position of Jesus as a spiritual Jew, raised above the outward ordinances of the law, and even above Judaism itself, as appears from the speech of Stephen, with its many examples.* So that we need by no means draw the too hasty conclusion of many representatives of the Tübingen school, that because Paul is silent as to any words of Jesus concerning freedom from the law, and good will to the Gentiles, such words were in truth not spoken, and that Paul was unable to find them, so that the victory remained with the old apostles, who affirmed by their traditions the Judaism of Jesus, and his subjection to the law: but we must admit that the Apostle has met with sayings of both kinds, and of opposite nature, and that, for this very reason, since there was a divided, conflicting tradition, inclining to either side, he was silent about both, and yet constructed out of them the liberal view that Jesus had on the one side submitted to Judaism and had kept the law,

* Comp. Acts vi. 13, et seq.

and on the other, that he had denounced its narrow ordinances in the name of the men whom his death was to set free. This enquiry, of which the treatment in detail might astonish many readers, cannot be stated too plainly: on it must rest ancient Christianity and our verdict on all the Gospels.

The life of Jesus was crowned by his death and resurrection. He was given up into the hands of his enemies, the ruling powers of the people, and at the Passover he was in his earthly weakness crucified, slain and buried.* But he had in truth offered himself, renouncing his own life, out of love for men, for the sinners, for whom no man else would die, whilst he had taken them to himself, and on himself, enduring the scorn of blasphemers by such a deed, and offering his body and blood as a pure paschal offering, a propitiatory sacrifice for Israel and for all men.† Hence, on the night on which he was betrayed, he consecrated the Jewish paschal supper with his disciples, in such a manner that he offered his body to them under the sign of bread and wine, which he appointed to them, as the new covenant which was to be founded on his blood, and he prescribed to them the constant repetition of this act in remembrance of him.‡ But he that was dead is risen: on the third day, according to the Scriptures, he was raised up by God, he appeared to a band of witnesses, who may be reckoned in order, Peter, James, the apostles, five hundred brethren, and last of all, to Paul also: he was exalted to the right hand of God, in order to return again speedily, as lord of all men through his resurrection, and, as he himself had promised, as King and Judge of the quick and dead.§

The Apostle's independent sphere of thought, as it still rests upon the traditionary facts of the life of Jesus, can on its side relate, after a different manner, the immense impression which

* 1 Cor. xi. 23. ii. 8. v. 7. Comp. xi. 23, et seq. 2 Cor. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. xv. 3.

† Gal. ii. 20. Rom. v. 6, et seq. xv. 3, 7. 1 Cor. v. 7. Rom. iii. 25. Gal. iii. 13.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 23, et seq.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 1, et seq. Rom viii. 34. xiv. 9. 1 Thess. iv. 15.

the person of Jesus called forth, at the moment of his departure, and even while the bloody traces of his death as a criminal were still fresh. The highest conceptions of Messianic dogmatism, or of the Alexandrine philosophy scarcely sufficed to express the fulness and height of such a Being in human speech. Much more than a man had been present in him: he is the only Son of God, the perfect image of God, sent down by God from his kingdom in heaven, into the earthly life of poverty: by him the world was made, by him Israel was led in the wilderness: finally, he appeared on earth, in order that he might wonderfully fulfil all the promises of God from the beginning, and might lead humanity into the second and last era of divine creation, the second man from Adam, the heavenly, spiritual, ideal man, who should conquer the flesh, and sin, and death in humanity as it should be newly-formed after his image, and even in the lower creation, who should bring in the freedom of the children of God, and bring to pass the return of the world in eternal purity to God.*

This life of Jesus, as it is offered to us by Paul, is indeed rich in material, a Gospel of those early days, which made any further Gospel unnecessary, even if it is surrounded by insoluble difficulties, or which rather promised to give light and aid of every kind to the Gospels which contain the material life of Jesus. Where one firm point is established, the second may be easily applied to it.

The facts of Paul are more or less echoed in all the other epistles and writings of the New Testament, as for example in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the first Epistle of Peter, which gives in a striking manner the truly human suffering, the wrestling agony of Gethsemane, but also assures us of our sinless Example.† But here, for the most part, we have only passing allusions, and the date of these writings is not equally

* Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 44. viii. 6. x. 4, 9. 2 Cor. iv. 4. Rom. viii. 3, 32.

† Hebr. ii. 17. iv. 15, especially v. 7, et seq. 1 Pet. ii. 21.

clear. The Revelation of John gives, comparatively, the most abundant and most certain contributions, as it was written towards the end of the year 68, shortly after the death of Paul: and then comes the Acts of the Apostles, the second part of the work of Luke the Evangelist, dating from A.D. 80-90. In the Revelation, of which however the Jewish-Christian author can hardly have been an eye-witness of the life of Jesus, nor indeed an apostle, Jesus is the Son of God and Son of man, of the tribe of Judah, of the house of David, first of the martyrs, the first-fruits from the dead, the Lamb that was slain, which has loved us and redeemed and purified both Jews and Gentiles in his blood, and is henceforth the conqueror through his resurrection after his three days of shame in Jerusalem, exalted to the right hand of God, who cometh quickly in the clouds of heaven, a judge, a ruler who brings the heavenly Jerusalem to earth.* The historical allusions of the Acts of the Apostles are much more full: their value consists in the fact that they do not merely repeat the record of the Gospels, but confirm, enlarge or alter it, out of several older Jewish-Christian, or Hellenistic sources. Jesus of Nazareth, the servant of God, anointed with the Holy Spirit, had, after the baptism preached by John to Israel, collected disciples, and he began his essentially Israelitish ministry in Galilee, going through the land of Judea to Jerusalem, working miracles of mercy and of healing, especially on the possessed, he himself most truly fulfilling his own saying, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," at last betrayed by his disciple Judas, unjustly accused before Pilate by the elders of the people,—he the just and holy One, and in spite of the pleadings of Pilate, a murderer was preferred before him by the people, and he was denied, then crucified and slain. But in truth God had so willed it, in order to exalt him as the Christ, and through him, if not indeed through the cross, to give redemption, peace and

* Comp. Rev. v. 5. xxii. 16. i. 5. v. 6. 9. 12. 1, 5. xviii. 2. 8. xvii. 14.

forgiveness to men. On the third day he arose from the dead, showed himself alive for a length of time (for forty days, according to one passage) not indeed to the people, but to his own followers, with whom he ate and drank, and to whom he delivered his last charges and promises before his ascension, including his promise of his coming again.* The writings, taken together, are instructive, even in their inward contradictions on the most important points. According to one communication, which has perhaps reached us through the hand and statement of the Pauline author, Jesus, before his departure, commanded his apostles to preach to all the world, beginning from Jerusalem: according to other Jewish-Christian records, the mission was in reality only to Israel: in one communication, he is the Prophet like unto Moses, to whose words men must hearken as if spoken by Moses: according to a Hellenistic source, he has, secretly or openly, laid hands on the outward ordinances of Moses, his precepts and the existence of the Temple, and has doomed them to destruction.† These are conflicting statements which not only recall the later divisions of parties, but also the facts of the life of Jesus, with their two-fold aspect, of which Paul has just now given a proof.

Although it is possible historical research may challenge many of these facts, yet a solid kernel of the life of Jesus has been formed under our eyes, which can withstand dissolution, and be assured and confirmed by the assent of ancient witnesses on many important points.

* Comp. especially chaps. ii. iii. x. xiii. The saying xx. 35. That the death of Jesus had as such no purpose of salvation, as in Paul, must be at once admitted, but neither can we doubt that Paul has here discerned the fundamental thought of Jesus himself.

† Universalism. Acts i. 8. comp. ii. 39. iii. 26, et seq. Against it, x. 11, 28, 34, 36, 39, et seq. Law, iii. 22, 23. vi. 11-14. vii. 38, 44-50. V. 38 and 44 show that at any rate Stephen wished to make it clear that the spiritual and to some extent the material side of the Mosaic law had not been abolished, but rather the excesses of the sensuous worship of the Temple and the sacrifices. And on this point he is in agreement with Jesus.

B.—*The Four Gospels.*

In this manner we pass with less uneasiness to an enquiry into the Gospels, which have been so often examined up to this day, an enquiry which has for the last century been as often declared to be solved as to be insoluble. Not that the whole historical life of Jesus is involved in this enquiry: it is only interested in at once certifying by means of new witnesses, and in enlarging by their aid the meaning of the life of Jesus, which Paul, together with other sources, has shown to us as a whole. For however satisfied we may feel with the general features of the sculpture-work of Paul, we do not wish to lose the more accurate details of this mighty life, and of the words which have moved, and still continue to move the world: and where it is possible, the one literature must be a key to the other.

The criticism of the Gospels is a science in itself. But it is a controversial science, and the life of Jesus, in seeking ground for itself, must in some degree help to found that science, since it lays down the general points of view, and surveys the work of criticism with a historical eye. There are two main points of controversy by which the criticism of the Gospels is at present hampered, and by which, as the faint-hearted believe, all attempts at a life of Jesus are palsied: the preference given to the three first Evangelists or to the Gospel of John, and again, which of the three is to be preferred, or, as the question is now stated, Matthew or Mark. We might indeed take another step, to ask in the third place for the most ancient sources of these Gospels, and hotly dispute as to the way they were compiled, but this would only lead to unfruitful surmises or unsound ground. In the two enquiries which we have marked out, we can, since either is customary, start from the three first, or from the fourth Gospel, in order to confute or to justify, either triumphantly or moderately, one by means of the other. It seems best to begin with those Gospels which by their antiquity and the view taken by the apostle Paul

stand nearest to the life of Jesus. These are the three first Gospels, and we begin with Matthew.

I.—The Three First Gospels.

It has been most confidently assumed by all tradition, and by all independent research into the matter, that the three first Gospels are of greater antiquity than the fourth, and again, as was observed by the ancient church, that their narrative is united in a brotherly alliance, which is characterised by greater faithfulness to tradition, by an objective and popular style, and consequently by a close, and often even a verbal agreement in important points as well as in trifles.* On this account, it has been well to consider these together, like a picture seen in a three-fold reflection; and they have indeed been lately arranged in this manner: from this collation (synopsis) they have, since Griesbach, been called the Synoptical Gospels. Their great harmony at first encouraged the belief that there was a full, certain, and ancient tradition of the life of Jesus. But the discrepancies, which are becoming ever more apparent to criticism, modify the belief, or at any rate call upon us to attempt to declare or discover, the most ancient among the old, the most trustworthy among the probable. Thus the contemplation of the Gospels together must lead to an anatomical dissection of the three organisms, of their traditions, as they were formerly considered, and of their standpoints, as we now try to interpret them. Each one of the three has in turn been distinguished as the first, second, or third, while even the first has at the same time run the risk of being set down, not as the earliest original, but only as the firstborn among the manifold and more modern versions of the lost and really venerable original Gospel. Amid such a crowd

* *Weizsäcker* has lately in his Untersuch. über das. ev. Gesch. 1864. p. 221, et seq. songht to reconcile these distinctions by a reference to the traditional, the theological and the ideal treatment of John. This is not altogether consistent with his admission, p. 10. of the simple style of the original, popular, and natural narrative of the synoptic Gospels.

of views, we plead for Matthew, according to the old belief, which has also been vindicated by the critical school of Tübingen (Baur, Strauss, Schwegler, Zeller, Hilgenfeld,) in opposition to the surmise which is now favoured and forcibly urged of the absolute or relative originality of Mark: and we must add our conviction that if as a Gospel, which is superior to the others, and especially to Luke, in the excellence of its composition, it must rely upon manuscript sources which were more ancient and more rudely compiled, any certain and accurate reference to these most ancient originals is not only impossible, (see further on Luke) but is in itself a pure hypothesis.*

A.—Matthew.

Jesus himself has neither taken the pen in order to write down the things worthy to be remembered (for how indeed should he, the Son of God, who was to manifest, to give, to sacrifice himself for mankind, have found time and inclination to do so?) nor did he charge his Apostles with the task of writing Gospels, although he delivered the Gospel to them. (Matt. x. 7.) In his perfectly genuine humility, he was zealous to maintain the letter of the Old Testament; but about his own, in the spirit of his sermon on the mount, he was not careful. Even without such efforts which are characteristic of modern times, this Man could feel no anxiety about the remembrance of him in the future, who was assured that the heavens would pass away before his words, (Matt. xxiv. 35,) that they would outlast all the enmities of the world, (xxiv. 14,) and that even his anointing in the quiet village of Bethany would be for ever made known to all the earth by preaching and report. (xxvi. 13.) In fact, from this entire freedom from anxiety on the part of Jesus, we have now lost the possession of a perfectly genuine, certain, and ever-valid Gospel: we have merely more scanty and later sources, qualified by gnawing doubt: yet we

* In what follows it is self-evident that we refer to the principal works of our days, by Baur, Hilgenfeld, Köstlin, Bleek, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, and others.

are thereby delivered from the servitude of the sacred letter, and, moreover, it is due to the great faith of our Master that we find in them Himself, in person and in word, sometimes very nigh to us, and again far off.

It is fabled that soon after the departure of Jesus, as early as the time of Stephen, as it is supposed by Eichhorn, the author of the "Urevangelium" records, or first Gospels, either by Matthew or by Philip, or by the college of Apostles, were extant. For a long while, especially among the Jewish Christians, men were satisfied with the spoken reminiscences, and the Gentile Christian Church of Paul depended on the main facts, and must indeed, if they desired a detailed Gospel, wait for the Church of Palestine, as the inmost circle, to take the initiative. Here, indeed, where the life of Jesus had its origin, this growing need had made itself felt in the latter half of the apostolic age, from the time that the college of Apostles was constituted until the destruction of Jerusalem. (A.D. 53-70.) A new generation had arisen, the Jews of Palestine, and those of the dispersion, as well as the carefully guarded Gentile world, desired information about Jesus, a solution of the difficulties which the offence of the cross offered to the Messiah, who yet seemed to be in his second coming the last friend, the last star of the declining Jerusalem: on the other hand, Paul, by preaching that the law and the national privileges must have an end, demanded an accurate collection of the decisions of the "Master," on whose authority there was more immediate dependence in the community of Jewish Christians than in the spiritual churches of the Gentiles. In this manner accounts of his royal descent had their origin; then his revelations about the future of Jerusalem, and also of the world, were revealed or put together; then came collections of his words and deeds, and especially of his end in Jerusalem: the two could indeed hardly be divided, as the preface to Luke shows (Luke i. 1), both because it was impossible, and because Judaism desired words and signs.

It was in such connection, grounded, no doubt, on a beginning of this literature, already in existence, chiefly consisting of genealogies, revelations, sayings, and acts, (as Matthew and Luke show,) that the carefully-composed Gospel of Matthew was issued, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem.

a. *The Gospel as a whole.*

In a criticism of the Gospels, there is nothing more common than the neglect of chronological questions. By this the whole matter is quickly distorted. The chronological signs of a literary fragment have the first right to speak when the other marks of its origin and connection are so obscure or controverted.

The first Gospel was in the main, and in its nucleus, which has not been injured by subsequent additions, written before the destruction of Jerusalem. (A.D. 70.) This can be shown by the absence of all intimations that the Jerusalem of the days of Jesus, which is the city of a great King, possessing the Temple in its splendour of gold and stone-work, its altar and sacrifice, priests in their courses, and religious parties, had ceased to exist in the writer's time. (v. 35, xxiii. 2-16, 22, 23.) Much may be said on the other side, and this in particular :— There is an allusion to the destruction of the Temple, of which one stone should not remain upon another. (xxiv. 2, xxii. 7.) But it must be observed that this is only done in predictions by Jesus, which have by no means been fulfilled, as they were spoken by him, or afterwards inserted. The city was burned, but not by the armies of God ; the Temple was thrown down, but in the historical destruction of Jerusalem, the catastrophe was not heralded by the erection of altars of abomination in the holy places, as in the time of Antiochus, by a flight of the nation as well as of the Christians, from the town of which the Temple only had been defiled, by the appearance of false prophets, full of the most deceitful arts, and, most important of all, by an "immediate" return of Christ, to end the brief

trouble of the believers who awaited his day upon the mountains.*

It is indeed asserted, that the error of the author, who apparently wrote when the old Jewish conditions were still unchanged, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, can simply be explained by the faithfulness with which he reproduced the old histories, sayings, and sources, even when the situation had long been changed, and many of the Master's words had lost on one side their interest, on the other their truth. It may be so in some instances, but in general no narrator will trouble himself with antiquated stories; no believing Christian with predictions of Jesus, of which he has historically experienced the reverse: there is a convincing proof of this in the other Gospels, which have suppressed the point of those predictions of Jesus which had become historically doubtful, and have in particular set aside the "immediate" return after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is simply incredible that the author of the first Gospel lived after the destruction of Jerusalem, and yet could place the second coming "immediately" after that event, if he, in all the glow of momentary expectation, (xxiv. 15) had found time and leisure, not only to write a Gospel, but to construe, with an astute refinement of interpretation, the "immediate" into one or two swiftly-fleeting decades. Many other signs point to the same date, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Thus, the numerous references to a second coming of Jesus in that generation, to the nation still in existence, together with its hierarchy, to the disciples, and indeed

* These are the features of chap. xxiv., particularly of v. 14—29. The *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἑστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ*, xxiv. 15, can from its expression and the historical reference to Daniel (comp. Joseph. Ant. 12, 5, 4. 1 Macc. I. 54), be nothing but the heathen altar of abomination. The offering of ensigns by Titus (Jos. B. J. 6, 6.) took place at the close, and not at the beginning of the Fall, and was only for a moment, nor is there anything said of the erection of a heathen altar in the Temple. Again, the false prophets (comp. Jos. B. J. 6, 5, 2. 7, 11, 1), were not exactly misleading, like those in Matt. xxiv. 21, but they were *ἐγκάθετοι παρὰ τῶν τυράννων*. The flight of the Jews and Christians took place earlier. Jos. B. J. 2, 20, 1. 2, 14, 2. 4, 6, 3. Ant. 20. 11, 1. The Christians, Eus. 3. 5.

to the Apostles, as still living, and as not having gone beyond the limits of their mission in Palestine.* Even the locality of the field of blood, which was the fruit of the treachery of Judas, is pointed out, and this may be pronounced to be an impossibility after the destruction.† The narrative of the tribute-money is still more important. Jesus paid the temple-tax, in order to offend no man, although he is free as the Son of the Father, equal and superior to the princes of royal houses, who pay no tax. After the year 71, the temple-tax was, by order of the Emperor Vespasian, transferred to Jupiter Capitolinus, to the gods of the heathen: from that time Judaism and Jewish Christianity was offended by the very name of the didrachma, and that Jesus should have paid the tax in order not to offend the heathen; and the story of the temple-tax, which led to taking the fish, disappeared from all the later Gospels, amid the triumph of the modern aversion to miracles, which would willingly dispense with the miracle of the fish.‡

It has been already maintained that Jesus could not possibly have so distinctly predicted the destruction of the Temple. The special incident was not open to prophecy, and moreover the author of the Revelation, with all his knowledge of Jesus, and his proximity to the terrible occurrence (A.D. 68) only believed that the outer courts of the Temple would be thrown down, together with the altar of burnt-sacrifice, and that the Temple would be divinely preserved.§ The distinct prediction of the destruction must be ascribed to the writer who had survived it. The question must be left open, in reply to this objection, whether Jesus himself, on a somewhat later time, foresaw the overthrow of the Temple. Yet the first undoubtedly appears from a crowd of old traditions about the trial of Jesus, as well

* xxiii. 36, 39; xxiv. 34; xxvi. 64; x. 23; xvi. 28; xix. 27, et seq.

† xxii. 8. The antiquity of this passage is however doubtful in another aspect. (See infra.)

‡ xvii. 24, et seq. Also B. J. 7, 6, 5 (in any case before the fourth year of Vespasian, i. e. 73). Suet. Domit. 12. Dio. C. 66, 7.

§ Rev. xi. 1, et seq.

as that of Stephen.* Nor must it be forgotten, that after the Roman conquest, and after the irreconcilable conflict of foreign power and national obstinacy became apparent, the old range of Jewish history and prophecy had been brought near, and even in Jewish circles there had been, since the middle of the century, forecastings of the destruction of the city, and of the burning of the Temple.† The account in the Revelation is no proof to the contrary: this characteristic Jewish bargaining, this giving and taking would assert itself the more when the worst was anticipated, whether from the words of Jesus or from personal foreboding. The use of the Revelation itself by the evangelist has been added to all the other reasons for the later origin of Matthew. This in itself will not absolutely constrain us to fall back on the destruction of the city: but these traces are not convincing; and on the other hand, the great simplicity, and consequently the originality and independence of the predictions of Jesus, are palpable when we compare them with the overdrawn visions of the future in the book of Revelation.‡

It is, however, certain that the fall of Jerusalem does in the Gospel of Matthew stand knocking urgently at the door. The time is far spent, the Christians wait, the little troop of Apostles is welded together, the Master, the Christ, (this name of office is repeatedly, as well as by Paul, used instead of that which was personal), still tarries.§ The evangelist, as such, points to Daniel, who foretold the profanation of the Temple, and to the Master who, after many stages of preparation, still

* Comp. Matt. xxvi. 61. Mark xiv. 58. John ii. 19. Particularly Acts vi. 14.

† Josephus dates the end from the Procuratorship of Cumanus (A.D. 48): in his time the destruction of Jerusalem had been contemplated. See Jos. B. J. 2, 12, 5. Ant. 20, 16, 1. We can also partly explain 1 Thess. ii. 16, from the history of the time.

‡ *Hitzig.*, in his acute treatise, 1843, on John Mark, p. 141, found in Matt. xxiv. 30, a convincing proof of the use of the Revelation (i. 7). *Volkman* agrees with him in der Ursprung der Ev. p. 158. But without considering other facts, can such a conclusion be deduced from one passage, which essentially belongs to the common use of the Apocalypse among Christians.

§ Comp. xxiv. 48; xxv. 5; xvi. 28.

tries the patience of his Christians.* The general tone of trembling and feverish expectation, expressed both in the details of the predictions and in their exalted tone, points to the actual dawn of the last times. The book (and not only its source) is written about the year A.D. 66, in which the fatal war with Rome began, of which the issue might be sketched as a whole, but only surmised in details, and with the war the dispersion of Jews and Christians, which, in its early beginning, was not foreseen by the author.† Most modern critics ascribe this Gospel, or its earliest germ, to this time, or in general to the years 60-70, as indeed Irenæus named the date of the preaching of Peter and Paul at Rome (A.D. 64): Baur however, which is quite untenable, has suggested the years 130-134, the date of the second fall of Jerusalem, under the Emperor Adrian, Volkmar, the year 115, or of late 105-110.‡

The tradition of the Church is also in great measure favourable to the antiquity of this Gospel. As far back as we can go, the book of Matthew, together with its companion, the Gospel of the Hebrews, is the one most in use. Jewish Christianity, naturally archaic and conservative, rejected all other Gospels, and the Judaizing Papias doubtless measured the imperfection, and also the confusion of Mark, by the scale of Matthew: but the writers of Gentile Christianity, and particularly the author of the epistle of Barnabas (cir. A.D. 120) have also preferred Matthew.§ So that Matthew is, almost without exception,

* xxiv. 15, 32, et seq.

† Comp. Eus. 3, 5: *τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας κατά τινα χρησμὸν—δοθεντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου μεταναστῆναι τῆς πόλεως—κεκελευσμένου.*

‡ The passage in Irenæus, Haer. 3. 1, 1: Matthæus in Hebræis ipsorum lingua scripturam edidit evangelii, quam Petrus et Paulus Romæ evangelizarent, et fundarent ecclesiam. Post vero horum excessum Marcus, Lucas, &c. Postea et Joannes discipulus domini et ipse edidit evangelium, Ephesi Asiæ commovens.

§ Iren. 26, 2. Eus. 3, 27. From Barnabas, comp. only c. 7: Gall and vinegar: c. 4. Many are called, few chosen: also Volkmar, Ursprung, p. 65, admits the use of Matthew, in opposition to Weizsäcker. Besides I disagree with V. in believing that the quotation of the passages, Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14, in c. 4, under the title, *ὡς γέγραπται*, is not to be regarded as a confusion with a book of the O. T. such as 4. Ezra, in which the text is altogether otherwise (multi creati, pauci salvabuntur)

placed first in the series of evangelists, and by the most ancient Fathers, he is throughout expressly declared to be the earliest evangelist.* Following the reckoning of Irenæus, Eusebius wished to fix the origin of the book about A.D. 40. The oldest quotations from Matthew which we can trace are to be found in the other Gospels: then, not to mention Cerinthus the Gnostic (cir. A.D. 100-120), in the epistles of Barnabas and Clement (cir. 120), in the Shepherd of Hermas (cir. 140), and by Justin (150).†

Together with its great and antique simplicity, which is shown, among other ways, by this being the only book in the New Testament which retains the expression of Jesus "the kingdom of heaven," the Gospel is not destitute of the peculiarities and style of its author. Its purpose, plan and method, and a characteristic mode of expression can be observed, even in details. These points must be clearly understood, in order that we may know how much of historical truth and how much originality we may expect and find in comparison with the other evangelists.

In this remarkably realistic Gospel, in which the author has desired to lose himself in his subject, one literary passion is apparent, as Irenæus has already observed, that is, to set forth Jesus as the true Messiah of Israel, who was indeed unlooked for in this fashion, although it was as such he had been proclaimed by all the utterances of God in the Old Testament.‡

but simply as a quotation from the Gospel. The comparison of the O. and N. T. does not first begin as Volkmar, following Credner, remarks (p. 111, *φωνὴ θεοῦ ἐι' ἀποστ. κ. ἐιὰ προφ.*) with Theophilus, A.D. 180, but began much earlier. Comp. Justin. Ap. I. 61; Tryph. 119; Dionysius of Corinth (Eus. 4, 23, Tatian, c. 13. Epist. from Lyons, in Eus. 51, in N. T. 1 Tim. v. 18, 2 Pet. iii. 16.

* Orig. ap. Eus. 6, 25: *πρῶτον γέγραπται.* Iren. p. 50. Comp. Credner and Volkmar, Geschicht. des N. T. Canon, 1860, 393. In Cod. fragm. Ev. Marc. et Mt. antiquis. ex mon. Bopp. Taurinum perlatus, Mark is once placed before Matthew.

† Epiph. Haer. 30, says that Cerinthus made use of this Gospel. In 1. Clem. 46, I find the saying of the woes is closer to Matthew than to Luke.

‡ Iren. fragn. xxix. ed. Stieren. I. 842: *τὸ κατὰ Μ. εὐ. πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἐγράφη. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπεζήμουν πάνυ σφόδρα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ Χριστόν. Ὁ δὲ Μ. καὶ ἐτι*

Wherever we find: "hereby is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah:" or, "All this was done that it might be fulfilled as it is written:" the unseen author betrays himself and his purpose, and we have a right to look for this purpose wherever it can be deduced from his points of view, even when it is not allied with any proof from the Old Testament. The object of the evangelist is therefore apologetic, his words are addressed, as Irenæus saw, to the Jews, but also, as it was added by Origen and his successors, to the Jewish Christians, to whom the glorious side of the life of Jesus was to be shown, and its offence removed, as in fact predictions were to be found in both senses, but especially in the last. This above all was to be set forth: he is, as God had proved him to be by signs of every kind, the Messiah, in spite of the shadows of his history, in spite of his freedom from the law, and of his breach with the people, caused by the people themselves, according to the old prophecy, and in spite of his death; his second coming would disperse the last clouds, when he should return as the Saviour of Jerusalem, and gather all Israel to himself, together with the believers who watched for him.* It must be shown how far such apologetic history is historical: in the meanwhile it appears in a very favourable light, since it has not disguised that aspect of the life of Jesus which was opposed to Judaism.

The plan of the book is careful, simple and transparently clear, and well executed. The author describes, without including the youth of Jesus, two important stages of his public life, his entrance to office in Galilee, together with the call to repentance and the preaching of the kingdom, and his entrance on the way of death, with the cry of anguish and his foretelling of

μᾶλλον σφοδροτέραν ἔχων την τοιάυτην ἐπιθυμίαν παντοίως σπευδε, &c. Also particularly the genealogy of David. Orig. ap. Eus. 6, 25: τοίς ἀπὸ Ιουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύσασαι.

* Köstlin, Urspr. u. compos. der synopt. Ev. 1853, 6, et seq., has already sought to define the Jewish purpose of the Gospel in bolder lines, and yet has overlooked much. It would be easy to prove that the foregoing points of view are for the most part removed by diligent reference to the O. T. 13. 14. 15, 7. 21. 42. 26, 54. 27, 34. 13.

the future.* He has placed these main divisions before the reader with great distinctness, and has divided them again into lesser sections. He has not only taken pleasure in making a significant and truly Jewish play upon numbers by the apposition of ten miracles, eight beatitudes, seven woes, four and three parables, three temptations, three followers, and two blind men. He has, in the first part carried out successfully his theory of the two-fold and efficacious work of Jesus, on which he had insisted in the beginning: "He went about teaching, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness:" (iv. 23). He thus subdivides the main subject into two branches, that of teaching and of action, and since he is moderate in all things, he neither fritters each away in endless particulars, nor fatigues us by exaggerating the two-fold aspect; he makes four stages, which begin with great sayings, and end with great acts; he opens his career with the sermon on the mount; his embassy is confirmed by his mission speech; the strife begins with the parables, and is heightened by his invective against the precepts of the Pharisees, (v. 1, x. 1, xiii. 1, xv. 1.) In the second division his preaching and his acts retreat before the overwhelming cry of anguish, which as such brings the facts of his sufferings ever closer, and here we have the cry of anguish at four stages, at Cæsarea, at Capernaum, before Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem before the feast of the passover, (xvi. 22, xvii. 22, xx. 17, xxvi. 1. 2). This advance of the history, as well as the manner of grouping words and acts, show that the historical progress of the life of Jesus has not been sacrificed to the classification of such things as are similar. In fact we do find, together with a few anticipations, or anachronisms, that there is on the whole a fair and continual development of the history of Jesus. His preaching ever flows forward from an approaching kingdom to one which has come,

* Matt. iv. 17: *ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ιησους κηρύσσειν καὶ λέγειν.* Matt. xv. 21: *ἀπὸ τοτέ ἤρξατο ὁ Ι. δεικνύειν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.* Even this striking parallel has been regularly overlooked.

and which is to come, from a strong utterance of the law, to a criticism which ever grows fuller, from the calling of all Israel to the calling of the babes and sucklings, from a calling of the Jews to a calling of the Gentiles, from a preaching of the Messiah to a preaching of the Son, and finally to a preaching of the cross. The proclamation at Cæsarea Philippi of the Messiah and of his suffering is more brilliantly set forth in all its parts than in any other Gospel. In the acts of Jesus, the gradations of miracle are not to be mistaken, from the first stage of the ten miracles after the sermon on the mount, to the third and fourth, in which the thousands are fed. The disciples steadily advance, from vague admiration to the grand acknowledgment finally made by Peter. The conflict with the people and their leaders is slowly begun: Jesus hopes, the people believe, the Pharisees are in suspense, and Jesus still bears with them: but in the midst of his career a deadly strife is declared on both sides; and understood by his disciples, who proclaim him, but hated and persecuted by the leaders of the nation, Jesus attains to his predestined death in the name of God.

The consistency of this representation is throughout plain and simple: where the great facts speak, neither a heightened rhetoric nor an admiring comment is needed. We do however perceive a deep sense of the greatness of Jesus, and the misery of the people. When we compare Matthew with his successors in his account of one or all of the miracles, we find sculpture-work, antique history, the more effective because it is natural and does not seek for effect.* This peculiarity is the more striking because the narrative is not unskilful. Both in general and in detail he makes an intelligent use of his materials, his sentences are smoothly rounded, and occasionally we find a Greek turn of expression (vi. 16, xxi. 41). Hardly any one now believes with the ancient church that the treatise was originally written in Hebrew: it is too decidedly Greek: most of the quotations from the Old Testament are

* Comp. Strauss, 115.

taken from the Greek, not from the Hebrew version, and a certain Hebrew colouring is characteristic of most of the writers of the New Testament, in consequence of their Jewish extraction.*

The general impression, as to the historical value of the book, is exceedingly favourable. No doubt the author, whoever he might be, lived a full generation after Christ, when recollections may have been obscured, sayings rendered more glorious, and fresh interests had arisen: but the interval was too short really to sweep away a historical life, the circles of Judaism and Christianity were too disciplined and sober to replace facts by dreams, an eastern memory was naturally too tenacious, and moreover witnesses of the life of Christ still lived. The author is no doubt a Jewish Christian, who has some regard for his law and nation, but the relation of Jesus to these things, as it is described by him, is wholly nourished by a liberal spirit in which there is nothing of Judaism, and the bitter taunts, said to have been addressed to Paul, are only fables.† The author is certainly an apologist, and it is possible that his justification of Jesus, or his glowing expectation, has here and there led him too far, especially in his quotations from the Old Testament, but his apology has disguised nothing in the more important matters, and his simple narrative flows from the source of truth. Undoubtedly the author has a defined plan, and his grouping of facts and numbers favour the supposition that a word or story has occasionally been removed from its original connection: but the psychological probability of all the greater steps, as well as his conscientiousness, preserve us from any extensive suspicion of the striking sequence of events. To sum up all, he gives us a grand history, which is at the same time truly human, in all its parts, in word and work, in its relation

* The mistaken belief dates from Papias on the Gospel of the Hebrews.

† Anti-Paulinism, assumed by Hilgenfeld, p. 114, and also by Strauss, p. 122. H. speaks of the attitude of the old community as opposed to Paul. At the same time his critical relation to the law is admitted, p. 115.

to the time, and its inner development, and although written by a Jewish Christian, it harmonizes with Paul in the main points, as they were then apparent, while manifesting to us, in a manner which fully proves its essential accuracy, the Christ who was sublime and yet human, subject to the law and yet superior to it, Jewish and yet exalted above Judaism.

β. *The Internal Discrepancies of the Gospel.*

The general unity of purpose in the arrangement of this work undoubtedly admits of its vindication as the composition of one hand; in ancient times, however, and much more at the present day, a belief has arisen in certain differences which make the Gospel the work of two or more distinct hands. At one time, and indeed from the second century, as Jerome shows, a distinction was made between the author and the translator, and now that the translator has disappeared, a two-fold attraction to the perplexing inquiry into the Gospels generally, which men desire to solve in the form of this important book, of which the granitic age forbids our scrutiny, as well as to the internal difficulties of this particular Gospel, and its perplexing relation to Mark and Luke, has prompted the belief that the author was doubled, or at all events that a contributor was joined in the work.* It cannot be a matter of indifference to the life of Jesus, that the book should be divided between an earlier and a later writer; nevertheless it is possible that the older hand is nearest to the truth, while the younger has collected the later traditions or points of view.

None of the attempts to separate the authors which have hitherto been made have obtained a general assent, nor is such assent desirable. From Schleiermacher down to Ewald,

* The original Hebrew MS. Pap. ap. Eus. 3. 39. Iren. 3. 1, 1. Orig. ap. Eus. 6. 25. Eus. 5, 8. Hier. vir. ill. 3. 'primus in Judaea propter eos, qui ex circumcisione crediderant, ev. Christi hebraicis literis verbisque composuit: quod quis postea in graecum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Papias knew of several translations. That the original was in Greek is now generally believed. Comp. Köstlin, p. 37, et seq.

Köstlin, Holzmann, and Weizsäcker, many have tried to separate the sayings from the acts, and to establish a collection of sayings by Matthew, together with a distinct historical book: on the other hand the Tübingen school, represented by Baur, Schwegler, and Hilgenfeld, with whom Köstlin inconsistently takes part, have sought to establish the distinction between a strictly Jewish-Christian Gospel, and another, more liberal and friendly to the Gentiles, compiled by two or three hands, and containing both the sayings and acts, the former the original treatise, and the latter an addition to it.

Those who think with Schleiermacher rely on the statement of the Chiliast Papias (in the middle of the second century), that Matthew wrote "the sayings" or oracles in Hebrew.* The way in which the sayings are grouped in the Gospel supported this view. It was easy to surmise that Matthew had given the collection of sayings without the acts, Mark simply the Gospel of acts without the sayings, and that Matthew, as it now stands, and also Luke, had written both.†

We shall speak presently of Mark and Luke. But if we are to abide by the testimony of Papias, as it refers to Matthew, the ingenious supposition falls to the ground in both particulars. It does not appear that Papias knew only of a collection of sayings by Matthew, for what he calls sayings, designating their general tenor, he has, in speaking of Mark, shortly described as "sayings" in one place, and in another, with greater exactness, as "sayings and acts." Whether the collected sayings of Jesus were ever given alone must be altogether doubtful. (Luke i. 1.) But there can be no doubt that in the time of Papias our Matthew consisted both of sayings and of acts, and had long been in common use; it is certain that he, glancing at this Matthew, spoke of an original Matthew, and distinguished one from the other, not as the Gospel of the collected sayings, but merely as a Greek translation of

* Eus. 3. 39. Oracles of God, Rom. iii. 2. Also Joseph. B. J. 6. 5, 4.

† Comp. Holzmann, Die Synopt. Ev. 1863, p 248. Weizsäcker, 27.

the Hebrew original treatise, as did Jerome later. And thus also it was naturally understood by Eusebius.* Next for Matthew himself. It is true that he has groups of sayings and acts which may be easily separated. Yet it would be less easy to assign distinct authors to each group. The composition of these groups on two lines, so characteristic of the Gospel, is more in keeping with the active spirit of a single composer, who placed the ten miracles after the sermon on the mount with its eight beatitudes, together with the six and three invectives against the Pharisees. Besides, the language including his manner of applying the Old Testament, is essentially one: one sphere of thought, one chronology, one progress of history from the beginnings of the kingdom to its height, from tolerable peace to war, from life to death: and, to set against isolated difficulties, there is such a complete impression of harmony as a whole, that the composer must be esteemed a portent, who wove the severed parts together with such intimate as well as outward union, although they were dissimilar or indifferent, and who moreover respected the collected sayings less as such than in their effect on the historical development and progress of the life of Jesus.† Therefore we decidedly reject a theory which, in its mechanical platitude, gives a mortal wound to the organic life of this Gospel, and which dissolves in the very hand of its creator, because, finally, it was the evangelist alone, and not the collector of sayings, who ordered the extent, position, union, and connection of these sayings, freely no doubt, and indeed deliberately.

It is more possible to accept the attempt at division made by

* Eus. 3. 39. M.: *μὲν οὖν ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεργάψατο. ἡρμήνευσε δ'αὐτά ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος.* Previously of Mark: *τὰ ὑπό τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντά ἢ πραχθέντά—αλλ' οὐχ' ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων.* In the latter he has, according to the context (as I differ from Weizsäcker in considering), by no means spoken of the sayings only, but of the whole. Comp. together with more important works, Rud. Anger, ratio, qua loci V. T. in ev. Mt. laudantur, quid valeat ad illustrandam hujus evangelii originem quæritur, Pt. I.—III., 1862. Particularly Pt. III. 3, et seq.

† On this point comp. Hilgenfeld, p. 112.

the Tübingen school than this rude cleft through the midst of the living body of the Gospel. The service which it offers to the composition of the book appears to be more helpful than dangerous, in attempting a clear definition of those spheres of thoughts which are obscure: and is it not really the fact that we have ourselves been surprised to find preaching to the Gentiles forbidden, and the same thing enjoined, to find the Magi paying homage to the Messiah of the Jews, and the centurion of Capernaum as well as the Canaanitish woman. Therefore it is instructive to find that the distinction between a strict and a liberal Jewish-Christianity runs through the whole book, and that we may throughout separate the stricter author from the more liberal contributor, and are indeed, as Hilgenfeld asserts, able to do so.* But this cannot be done in any great degree even in a synoptic arrangement. When a hard and fast line is drawn, the joint authors again find themselves in friendly agreement, and protest against those who would distinguish them.† The earliest foundation of the Gospel, the strict Jewish-Christian is displayed to us as the narrator of the sermon on the mount, and of so many other words and acts of Jesus, and as rejoicing in his higher moral ordinances; he rises above the trivialities of the law, above the Sabbath and sacrifice, fasts and washings, laws for marriage and for meats, even above the whole Old Covenant: he rises also above the national limits, since the unbelieving nation is so often reproached, while Tyre and Sidon, Nineveh and the Queen of Sheba are preferred to the Judaism of those times, and the Canaanitish woman is praised as a sign that the strength of Gentile faith would prevail against the narrow foundation which had been laid by Jesus himself. And the assumed contributor speaks of the Sabbath, which shall not cease to be kept holy, of the sacred places of the Temple, of a Gentile world in the gall of bitterness, of privileges, of the conversion of Israel and of Jerusalem, to which, in its direst need, the Messiah and the kingdom of heaven will come.

* Comp. here particularly Hilgenfeld, p. 106, et seq.

These facts show that the points of view are insufficient in spite of all the force of reasoning. Since the inmost heart of the Gospel, that which is the most ancient and genuine, rests on these sharp contrasts, it is impossible to dissever them, and such disjunction is an offence against the living body of the Gospel.*

Yet an internal strife remains in the Gospel, and however insignificant in its nature and extent, it is necessary to see how the conflicting points may be reconciled. We pause to consider the language. The general examination into the relative languages of all the Gospels is by no means ended, even after the excellent researches of Gersdorf, Credner, Hitzig, Wilke, Zeller, and Holzmann: but a distinction in one particular may be observed throughout, from early times to this day, from Jerome downwards; and even more closely examined by Bleek and Credner, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, Holzmann, and Anger: namely, the varying custom of introducing quotations from the Old Testament, at one time from the Greek translation, at another from the original Hebrew text in a new and independent translation.† The quotations of the former class predominate compared to the others; they are in the proportion of thirty to ten, they may be found throughout the Gospel, both in the sayings and the history, and even in the independent comments of the writer. On the other hand, passages of the second class preponderate in the author's independent reflec-

* Comp. my Geschichtliche Christus, p. 54, et seq. In this place the controversy between us is stated. I have not replied to his last: Zur Antwort Dr. K. Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol. 1866. H. forgets in this that I do not desire to prove the absolute principle of the acceptance of the Gentiles by such passages as xi. 21, xii. 41, even including the significant fact, xv. 22—28, but merely that the transition to such a principle is quite possible. He, indeed, names xv. 22, as an escape from the rule: once is never.

† Comp, Hier. de vir. ill. 3: animadvertendum, quod ubicunque evangelista sive expersona sua sive ex p. domini salvat. veteris scripturæ testimoniis abutitur, non sequatur LXX. translatorum auctoritatem, sed hebraicam. Among moderns, see particularly Bleek. Beiträge, 1846, p. 57; Köstlin, p. 37; Holzmann, p. 258. Especially Anger in the beforementioned work.

tions and production of proofs. The premisses are certain, but the deductions from them vary: some have asserted that there is but one author, distinguishing, with Bleek, the characteristic sources, as compared to the writer, or defining with Credner and Anger the characteristics of the writer: others have, with Ewald, found fresh confirmation from these facts for the contrast between the collected sayings and the later Gospel, or, with Hilgenfeld, between the original and the later Gospel. There is much to be said for there being but one writer in Anger's sense,—the predominance of the quotations from the Greek translation, the interpretation of the Hebrew version in the passages chiefly relating to the Messiah, the characteristic confusion of several places from both versions, finally the traces of both classes in all parts of the narrative, as well in the histories and sayings as in the subjective expressions of the writer. If this explanation does not suffice, it is true that a certain alternation is found in Paul, and elsewhere in the New Testament. Undoubtedly it is less persistent in both cases. A clear distinction still remains: in the objective narrative the quotations from the Greek predominate, in the subjective comments of the author those from the Hebrew Old Testament, and this distinction cannot well be explained merely by alternations of the author, however skilful.* It is not intelligible that the writer, who has preferred the Greek version for the whole of his historical narrative, and for the sayings of Jesus, should not have found the same Greek version good enough for his cursory remarks, nor again, how an admirer of the Hebrew should have had recourse to the Greek as a rule. Nor is it intelligible why he, in some instances, referred to the Greek text, when the

* In all the important sections of history, except the preliminary history, Sept. is predominant. Comp. the Temptation, the Baptist, the Publican (c. ix.) the dispute about the Sabbath, c. xii. The rich young man, c. xix. The purification of the temple, c. xxi. The children in the temple, c. xxi. The lawyer, c. xxi. The Sadducees, c. xxii. In the sayings of Jesus only xi. 10 is from the Heb. In the author's own comments there is most II. as in ii. 6. xv. xx. 3. iv. 15. viii. 17. xii. 18. xxi. 5. xxvii. 9. Sept. 1, 23. iii. 3.

Hebrew had a different meaning; and again reverted to the Hebrew, when the Greek version was equally satisfactory.* If these appearances are not to sink into riddles or an arbitrary chance, we must believe that there were two writers, of whom the one preferred to use the Greek, the other the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Yet we need not maintain, with Bleek, that there is a distinction between the author and his sources: otherwise the whole book must consist of sources, and these sources must all have made use of the Greek version of the Old Testament. Nor need we suppose, with Ewald, the distinction of the collected sayings and the Gospel, since the use of the Greek text prevails in the whole objective history, both in the sayings and the acts: but rather deem, with Hilgenfeld, that there is a distinction between the original writing and the addition, only we may reserve our judgment as to the limits of both.

In the next place, it will only be necessary to ascribe the comments on the history of Jesus which are taken from the Hebrew text to this contributor. The whole material was given by the author, a contributor added a comparatively small number of short illustrations, from the old prophecies, which he thought striking, and which were wonderfully fulfilled in Jesus. In such wise the slight additions mentioned below may have arisen.† But on some points the work of this contributor is more extensive, and in the cases where the use of the Hebrew text runs regularly through a whole section, as well as where the historical narrative is more or less full of passages from the Old Testament. Thus, at the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, the two animals on which he rode are introduced by the con-

* Observe that a series of important Messianic passages are taken from the Sept., such as the proof of the birth from a virgin, Rachel, the preacher in the wilderness, the blindness of Israel, the temple a house of prayer, the praise of babes and sucklings, the corner-stone, the Lord of David. The Sept. was indispensable for the birth from a virgin.

† Such as ii. 6, 18. iv. 15. xxi. 5. On the other hand it is not clear that the Sept. was used, ii. 15. xxvi. 31, &c.

tributor, quoting from the Old Testament, and so also with the thirty pieces of silver of Judas, together with the whole circumstances, which are taken by the translator from the passage in the prophets.* The most important instance is found in the preliminary history. With the exception of the one passage as to the birth from a virgin, for which the Greek version was quite indispensable, the use of the Hebrew version prevails through the whole preliminary history, as it may be proved in four particulars: the narratives themselves, of the birth from a virgin, of which there are also intimations introduced into the genealogy, of the birth at Bethlehem, of the flight to Egypt, and the return from it, and lastly, of the murder of the children at Bethlehem, are the more characteristic of the author who collected the prophecies, since they find little or no confirmation elsewhere in the Gospels.†

Some evident interpolations into the narrative which betray the later aid of the contributor are an additional proof of the several hands. Ewald, Köstlin, and Hilgenfeld have enumerated a series of such additions. But we restrict ourselves to those which are most probable, since a certain carelessness in the execution where there was such an abundance of sources and materials might affect the original author, who is in the main consistent. There is, for instance, no sort of connection between the history of the childhood of Jesus and of his baptism; it is knit together with surprising vagueness and inaccuracy, as if the childhood of Jesus and the baptism by John were contemporary, and the inspiration of God is here ascribed to the baptism of Jesus, while it is expressly assigned to his birth in the history of his childhood. It also appears that the Gospel originally began with the genealogy of Jesus (chap. i.), and with the baptism by John (chap. iii.), and that the contributor prefaced it, as far as he could, with the first account of

* xxi, 2—7. xxvi. 15. xxvii, 3—10.

† There is an infusion of the Hebrew version in ii 6 (Bethlehem) ii. 23. (Nazarene) ii. 18. (Rachel).

the childhood, in language which bears some traces of the phraseology of the Ebionites.* The parable of the wedding feast evidently interrupts the connection of the controversies in Jerusalem (xxii. 1-14). The preceding parables had incited the Pharisees to an act of violence towards Jesus, which came to nothing through the people: now, according to xxii. 15, they change their system of violence into cunning: in this there is a connection which is interrupted by the parable of the wedding feast, and the calm tenor of the parable is quite unintelligible, both as regards Jesus and the Pharisees, after the open attempt at violence. The parable of the virgins (xxv. 1-12) altogether disturbs the immediate sequence of the trial of the servants (xxiv. 45-51; xxv. 15-30), and the general day of judgment (xxv. 31-46), is at any rate very slackly attached to the trial of the servants. Finally, the history of the watch set at the grave (xxvii. 62-66) has, as it is very evident from the interruption of the connection of the two evenings of Friday and Saturday, and from the varying notice of Saturday (v. 57, 62, xxviii. 1), been inserted between the burial and the resurrection of Jesus. Some lesser variations are also remarkable. The refusal of the Baptist (iii. 14, 15), may be of later origin, since, according to the main narrative, the Baptist did not yet know Jesus, and only received the Divine intimation in the sign given at baptism. The saying in which Judaism is set aside in favour of the Gentiles in the story of the centurion (viii. 11, 12) is inconsistent with the period, at a moment when the faith of Israel as it actually existed, was the measure of Gentile faith, and the admission of this interpolation must silence many other doubts. The prayer of Pilate's wife (xxvii. 19) interrupts the action of the tribunal, and is evidently an interpolation, as the fresh account of the outward situation which had been already described, shows. The resurrection of the saints after the death of

* Consider iii. 1, compared with what precedes it: iii. 11, 16. compared with i. 18, 20.

Jesus (xxvii. 52, 53) has been unskilfully inserted by a second hand in a series of signs, which directly followed the death of Jesus, whereas these resurrections would have accompanied the resurrection of Jesus, three days afterwards.

It is very important that the small number of later insertions which we have here given, coincide for the most part with a series of doubtful questions. This is especially true of many most important passages, of the preliminary history, and of the parable of the wedding feast, in which, together with the want of connection, the chronology in one place, the language in another, gives cause for doubt.* Thus it is noteworthy that the Baptist's scruples as to the baptism stand in our Matthew at the beginning of the story, and at the end of it in the Ebionite Gospel, an uncertainty of position which criticism cannot think favourable to its authenticity. The quotations from the Hebrew version form a fresh connection with each other, while we see in addition that the use of the Old Testament occurs in similar, stereotyped, and stately formulas, as they do not appear in the sayings of Jesus, and in the reflections of the first author.† The accounts of the betrayal by Judas and the watch set at the grave are allied, and these passages, otherwise suitable, bear in the Gospel the marks of a later date. (xxvii. 8, xxviii. 15). Many of the passages ascribed to the contributor show, when they are more closely considered, a tone of

* Doubts on the chronology may (notwithstanding our earlier preliminary remarks on the passage) be established as to the parable of the royal wedding, since in other places in the Gospel the fall of Jerusalem (including at most the transition of the kingdom to the Gentiles, xxi. 41), was the outermost horizon, but here (xxii. 7, 8) there is the starting point of extensive development of the kingdom of God which is described in detail. If this is a token of the post-apostolic age, the saying as to the burning of Jerusalem (xxii. 7.) which chap. xxiv. and also xxiii. 37 (omit ἔρημος) has supposed to be still standing, must be assigned to the later contributor, as well as the whole passage.

† In the sayings of Jesus we find: γέγραπται, ἀναπληροῦται, πῶς πληρωθῶσι (comp. iv. 4, xiii. 14, xxvi. 54). In the reflections of the author: οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ. Ἠσαίου τοῦ προφ. λεγοντος. iii. 3. In the contributor always: οὗτος ὅλον γεγόνεν ἵνα πληρωθῃ το ῥηθὲν ὑπα Ἠ. Comp. i. 23, ii. 15, iv. 14, viii. 17, xiii. 35. xxi. 4, xxvii. 9. Other forms, ii. 5, 18.

thought which is very favourable to the Gentiles, so that the point of view of the Tübingen school is at least partly justified: for the Gentile Magi in the history of the childhood of Jesus, the words spoken against Judaism, the parable, the account of the day of judgment, the appearance of the Gentile men and of the Gentile woman on the side of Jesus, all this and more besides, is friendly to the Gentiles.* In one of these passages, as well as in the second, third, and fourth Gospels, the foreign-sounding name of "the Jews" occurs (xxviii. 15). No one can deny that the work of the contributor, or as Papias asserts, of the contributors who made additions to important books throughout the century (an opinion in which Strauss concurs) may perhaps be still further traced and extended.† But the surmise may be set aside until it can be proved: meanwhile the impression is overwhelming, that a preponderating unity of composition underlies the Gospel, and that a moderate share of slight and yet essentially consistent additions were made to the Gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem by a zealous Jewish-Christian contributor, dating from about the time of Mark and Luke, in the sense of a more liberal Christianity.‡

γ. *The Amount of Credibility.*

We are now to distinguish between the author and the contributor. We must, in the first place, describe the most striking features of the author, so far as we can observe and collect them at the outset, since he is the true owner of a Gospel which is in the main and throughout the work of one man. It is easy to show, first, that the Gospel is in essential har-

* Comp. below, for the contributor.

† Strauss, p. 118. Comp. the close of the synopt. enquiry.

‡ Luke and Mark have evidently made no use of the contributor, and therefore are concerned with him neither positively nor negatively: e.g. in the history of the childhood in Luke, or the miracles after the death of Jesus in both. It is possible that the freer treatment of the Gospel history by Luke and Mark gave occasion for the enlargement of the superior gospel, and this again for the separation of the strictly Jewish Gospel of the Hebrews.

mony with the facts of the Jewish history of the day, especially as we learn them from Josephus. The misery and earnest longing of Israel and Galilee under Herod and the chief rulers, the power of the priesthood in all its shades, the principles and distinctions of parties, more abundantly described in the Gospel than elsewhere, are confirmed by history: the characteristics of Herod Antipas, of the Procurator, of the Sadducean high priest, and of John the Baptist, are in keeping with it, and the history of the Baptist is completely confirmed by Josephus. Secondly; among the earliest Christian sources, Paul strongly confirms this account, both in general and in detail: he has almost word for word given a like narrative of the descent of Jesus from the family of David, his human birth and Jewish position, his words of teaching and those addressed to the apostles, his predictions, the institution of the last supper, the reviling words which were spoken to him when he was dying, his burial and resurrection. The later Gospels, especially Mark and Luke, agree with the most important histories, and from their more advanced standpoint they do not fail to give a clear testimony to the standpoint taken by Jesus with reference to the law and to his nation, which an unhistorical estimate of history, made by some up to the time of Strauss, has attempted to reserve for the author's own limited standpoint as a Galilean Jew.* Thirdly, the history of Jesus is generally related in a probable manner, that is, in the manner which might be expected from the effect of a new and creative spirit, acting on his own times historically and psychologically: Jesus, a reformer of Judaism, but also constrained by his history to go out beyond the limits of Judaism, a deliverer and inspirer of the highest ideas of his people, a personality which had a Divine capacity, and yet was wrestling, struggling, aiming at inward perfection, and outwardly dying

* Comp. only Luke xvi. 17, standing so isolated in this place, and first weakened by v. 16, or Mark vii. 7, with its elaborate and unsuccessful softening of the Jewish exclusiveness of Jesus.

with a loud cry of sorrow. The sayings of Jesus, especially, besides being characteristic of their time, have all the signs of an exalted and reticent originality, of a mighty nature, of a Divine sanctity and force, so that even a single word, full of the ancient wisdom which was soon lost in the Church, bears the stamp of a spirit of development which no evangelist, Jew nor Gentile, nor yet Paul himself, would have known how to invent.

It must however be admitted that every word is not a saying, nor every narrative a history of Jesus. In his sayings as in the history the accurate recollection of the moment has been lost, in spite of the general correctness of the sequence of events, as indeed the grouping of the words and acts itself shows. Facts which lay apart are artistically placed in connection, incidents, at least in the first half of the work of Jesus in Galilee, are given too early or too late, some incidents are repeated, others are misrepresented by transposition. This may be observed from a comparison with the other Gospels: even when the difference of position is no sign of a bias, yet it is at least in some degree a sign of varying traditions. This comparison makes it certain that the first Gospel has itself been partly founded on several written sources: this is evident from the stories which are repeated, and which are placed in a characteristic connection differing from that of the other Gospels.* However doubtful the estimate of these sources may be, and however the confident accounts of them which have been made from time to time come to nothing, since we can neither define in Matthew the limits of the sources and of the author, nor in Mark and Luke the limits of the old and new sources, how much is due to Matthew and how much to the writers' addition; yet the parallel passages in Luke appear to contain a source of the words of Jesus of which the composition is earlier, more elaborate and rigid, even if not more faithful, and compared with these the compositions of Matthew may occasion-

* Comp. Strauss, p. 116.

ally be later. In one particular the sayings in Matthew, and indeed in the other Gospels, may have been obscured, not only in their connection, but in their substance: in the revelations of the future. Much is here given to the mouth of Jesus which expressed the watching, the desire, and confidence of the believers, and which was in after times the solace of those who thus waited: in any case the exact predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem and the second coming of Jesus which would immediately follow, are not only wrecked against the rock of non-fulfilment, but also against the words of Jesus, apparently so calm, and yet so critical, that the day and the hour were in the hand of God.*

The narratives of the Gospel are even more encumbered with difficulties. We should not indeed be justified in attacking the miracles in the history of Jesus without hesitation, and in erasing them from the history as myths, founded perhaps on legends of the Old Testament. (Strauss.) This were to give judgment before the trial, a prejudging the matter from the temper of our own time, instead of a historical judgment, and this is forbidden by the actual greatness of Jesus, which transcends this and all ages, since the limits of soul and body, of spirit and nature, of God and creation are immensurable, and it is forbidden also by the facts and the belief of the apostolic as well as of the Pauline age.† This Gospel is distinguished by a certain moderation, especially in the description of miracles. Yet here and there, legends have crept in. In opposition to the signs and wonders of all kinds, as they are here related, we must remember that Jesus, and afterwards Paul, in the name of Christianity, depreciated signs; that the life of Jesus, according to certain records of history, was a life of privation and poverty, instead of a dominion over earthly ordinances: and finally, that other records (as in the Acts of the Apostles) have limited the miracles of the Lord to works of healing, which are indeed the majority of

* xxiv. 36. † Comp. Gesch. Christ. p. 121.

the miracles recorded in this book.* In some instances much bears its own explanation, or is explained by means of credible accounts in this or the other Gospels, as we shall see in the proper place.† But in other cases it appears, as a sign of the truthfulness of the writing, that a real and important matter of fact underlies all the characteristics which contribute to the greatness of Jesus, as, for example, in his baptism and temptation. Thus also the precedence given to Peter, which is not put forward in the other Gospels, may be founded on an important and actual matter of fact. A further misgiving as to the Gospel arises from its apologetic tendency, as it is peculiar to the original record. We may inquire whether the references to the Messiah consisted in scattered marginal notes of little significance, added to the history which was at first artless, and true to tradition, or if the history itself was secretly coloured by them. Our thoughts are directed to the descent of Jesus from David, to John's coming like Elias before the Messiah, to the sermon on the mount as an antitype of Sinai, to the mount of transfiguration, when Moses and Elias appeared, to the entry into Jerusalem with royal solemnity, to the repeated declarations of sufferings which could make the inconceivable death of the Messiah endurable as a death of free choice and determination, finally to the drink of gall and the mockery of the crucified, in which the Old Testament was to be fulfilled. Is this and much else really history or only Jewish ideas? Fortunately we can bring grave historical proofs for far the greater number of these facts, as they were fulfilled, with the exception perhaps of the mount of transfiguration, and the drink of gall, and thus far we can confirm our first impression of the essential faithfulness of the Gospel to tradition.

* Comp. Matt. viii. 20. Acts. x, 38.

† Thus: Matt. xii. 40, by xvi. 4. and Luk. xi. 29, 30: Matt. xxi. 19, et seq. by Luke xiii. 6, et seq. The second miracle of the loaves appearing in itself and in its relation to Luke to be a duplicate and variety of the legend.

The author was not indeed an Apostle, as the ancient Church (since Papias and Irenæus) throughout assumed, and as many of our time admit, at least for the collected sayings and the original record: he was not even an eye and ear-witness. That he was not an Apostle may be gathered generally from the objective manner in which the author speaks of Apostles, as well as from his Hellenistic characteristics, the Greek language, the use of the Greek version of the Old Testament, from the probable dependence on previous authors, and still more from the suppression of particular incidents from his group of facts, and from his readiness to accept many legendary traditions. That he was not the Apostle Matthew appears, without considering the description given of him by the later Church, from the designation of his person, "a man named Matthew," and from the complete absence of his influence on the history as an eye-witness from the time of his call by Jesus (ix. 9): the account of circumstances not witnessed by Matthew is very minute, and after his call facts are grouped together in a confused manner.* It is significant that Luke, who, to judge by his preface, assumed to have the earliest acquaintance with the Gospel, knew nothing of one written directly by an Apostle, nor by Matthew. Undoubtedly there is something imposing in the ascription of the book to the Apostle Matthew by the Church in the second century, both on account of its unanimity, and because it is difficult to explain why it should be ascribed to this Apostle, who in the circle of the Apostles and in the book itself remains so much in the background: if it had been named after Peter, it would have been more intelligible, since he plays the chief part, and was in fact then and afterwards considered to be the author of the Gospel of the Hebrews. We may surmise that the name of Matthew was given to the book, less,

* Clem. Al. paed. 2, 1, declares that his life was ascetic and Essene: Μ. μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος σπερμάτων καὶ ἀκροδρύων καὶ λαχάνων ἄνευ κρέων μετελάμβανε. This account does not exactly agree with the Gospel, but who knows if it is historical?

as Bleek and Strauss suggest, from an honest belief in the great facility in writing which the man who had been a publican would possess, than from observing that "Matthew, the publican," is twice brought forward, which is peculiar to this Gospel, and also on account of the relations of Jesus with the Publicans, and in a certain sense his arithmetical parables, of which the tone and the allusion seem best adapted to the apostle who had been a publican.*

This admission that the book had not a direct apostolic origin need not prevent us from ascribing to the author the trustworthiness due to one who stands halfway between an immediate eye-witness and a narrator of distant events. The traces both in time and place of a Hellenistic-Jewish author who evidently was nearly connected with the Temple, and the manifold tokens of truthfulness, also allow us to seek for him on the soil most favourable for the historian of the life of Jesus, namely, in one of the churches in Palestine, and probably in that of Jerusalem, shortly before their migration across the Jordan to their place of refuge at Pella.† Together with the predictions, there is more especially the intermediate position between subjection to the law and freedom, love to the nation and a breach with it, directing us to the congregations which were painfully freeing themselves from the holy city which was, amid the signs of divine wrath, and the growth of popular errors doomed to destruction. And now there was on the one side the remoteness of the life of the Lord, the alternation between laborious recollections of details and life-like oral communications, between the old impressions and the new temperaments and needs,

* That the title *εὐ. κατὰ* M. points to nothing but the editor is shown by all the originals, in opposition to Faustus Manich. Credner and Volkman. So also *καθ' Ἑβραίους* = auctoribus Hebraicis. Comp. Bleek. Einl. 87. Hilgenfeld, Kanon. p. 69.

* Even Köstlin (and also Strauss, 118) has supposed that the author was a Jewish-Christian of Galilee (p. 33-35). The exegesis of xix. 1, shows that the opinion of Delitsch (and Köstlin) as to its origin in Perea is untenable. Where is the Galilean eschatology ?

but on the other side, there was the contact with so many surviving sharers in the great history, in the persons of the brethren of Jerusalem, perhaps also of Apostles, with the tenacious memory characteristic of Easterns, as well as the use of the earlier accounts which now existed: this altogether brought into existence a Gospel of the most remarkable two-fold character, at once of dazzlingly pure and of obscured truthfulness, as we now possess it. If any one thinks it possible that the author had a special connection with the Apostle Matthew, who will gainsay him? Nothing certain is known about the residence of the Apostles in Jerusalem, after the apostolic council (cir. A.D. 53), and absolutely nothing after Paul was taken prisoner in Jerusalem (A.D. 59), and the author's reliance on Matthew would only have given the same amount of credibility as was attainable through his contact with other eye-witnesses, amongst whom perhaps were the brothers of Jesus.

The additions of the contributor are a degree lower in the scale of evidence and value. We may indeed say with decision that he has merely conscientiously enlarged the fundamental statements and convictions of the Gospel. His references to the Old Testament, his friendly disposition towards the Gentiles, are those of the Evangelist who has already preceded him. His efforts to show the exalted glories of this life are also annexed to the work of his forerunner by a natural growth. Therefore his fresh statements are in part only confirmations of the old theories, and in part additions of histories and sayings which are in themselves subordinate to these theories. The newly-collected quotations from the Old Testament in favour of the sojourn in Galilee, of the entry into Jerusalem, of the call of the Gentiles by Jesus, even of the ideal human character of His Messiahship, are quite irreproachable. But the fresh sayings and histories are for the most part taken from existing traditions, and in a few instances are embellishments of the writer's own, as may have been the case where the two animals on which Jesus rode are introduced on the

strength of the words in the Old Testament. But these traditionary histories and sayings show a two-fold character. Several may be welcomed as really valuable gleanings from the life of Jesus: among these, single sayings and parables are to be reckoned, versions preserved by the observation of an advanced Pauline age.* Among the histories is the pleading of the Procurator's wife for Jesus, which is another proof of Gentile sympathy, but in any case inoffensive. But many others, and those the most important, rest on a legendary foundation, of which no use can be made in strict history. This growth of legend is betrayed by the silence of the earlier, as well as of the succeeding Gospels, by contradictions in the historical accounts, by the forcible wresting of fulfilments from the Old Testament, as they existed, not only in the mind of the contributor, but in that of the later Jewish Christian church. This however is not the place to enter on the proof of particulars which the following history must give. The desire was early excited, a desire to which the Apocryphal Gospels gave the fullest satisfaction, to obtain more exact information as to the birth and childhood of Jesus, and as to his miraculous life: in this manner the belief that he was born from a pure virgin was deduced from the Old Testament, as well as the adoration of the Magi, the flight to Egypt, and the recal from it; stories which seemed at the same time to point out to the Gentiles the way of Christianity. Glorification at the beginning, glorification at the end: the resurrection of the saints in Israel was added to the wonders of the death of Jesus, as heralds of the general resurrection, in the kingdom of Messiah, which was derived from the Old Testament. At the same time offences were removed from the history: thus, the reproach of a baptism as a

* Thus the parable, xxii. 1 (comp. Luke xiv. 16, et seq.) on the description of the last judgment, xxv. 31, et seq. may be founded on a saying of Jesus. In any case, in the description of the last judgment, the reward of the Gentiles, not so much for their Christianity, as for their beneficence to the Christians who were the kernel of the world and the beloved of God, is very ancient, (reminding us of x. 42.)

repentant sinner—John had refused to baptize Jesus—the reproach of the base betrayal,—the Scripture had foretold all, from the thirty pieces of silver given to Judas, to the field of blood,—the reproach of the theft of the body of Jesus,—a soldier's watch had guarded the grave, had seen the resurrection, and were bribed to deny it.

It is remarkable that the Gospel recollections are obscured, as soon as we take a single step away from the first Gospel.

B.—Luke.

(a) Time and Place.

The Evangelist whom we have been accustomed to reckon as the third, is still further removed from the events of which he has written. Even without reference to the Acts of the Apostles, the second part of this historical book, it is easy to see that the Gospel was written after, and even long after the destruction of Jerusalem.*

Unlike Matthew, the actual catastrophe of the holy city was present to the soul of this writer in all its terrible extent,—the tedious and skilful siege by the enemy, the armies, the fortified camp, the circle of blockade, the thousand distresses, the bloody work of the sword, the leading of the people into captivity, the city and temple laid even with the ground, all from the deliberate point of view of the vengeance of God for the slaying of him that was sent. And beyond this catastrophe, which had bounded the view of the first evangelist, a fresh and indefinitely wide period is opened before the new historian, of Jerusalem as she lay in ruins under the iron hand of the Gentiles, and of the Gentile times in the midst of which he wrote. (Luke xix. 43, 44, xxi. 20-24. Also xvii. 22, &c.) Under such circumstances, the great discourse of Jesus concerning the future has undergone manifold alterations, notwithstanding all the care which has been taken to preserve its

* In the Acts of the Apost. viii. 26, points to the only probable explanation of the destruction of Gaza by the Jews in the beginning of the Jewish war. B. J. 2. 18, 1

essential features, even to the return in this "generation." The disciples do not ask about the end of the world, now so far distant; only about the fall of the Temple. (xxi. 7.) The end is not "yet," coming after the fall and the sorrow which accompanied it, when the sun and moon will lose their light; the disciples themselves shall not see the end, but only the beginning of the end. (v. 25, 28.) All the other predictions are also altered. The disciples will not see the coming of the Son of Man; only that of the kingdom of God: the Sanhedrim also will not see the second coming, but will live to see Jesus sitting at the right hand of God. (ix. 27. Comp. Matt. xvi. 28. Luke xxii. 69. Comp. Matt. xxvi. 64.) Men are earnestly warned not to deceive themselves by thinking that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Only the kingdom of God, and not the Lord of the kingdom, is nigh; and this kingdom gives to the disciples their expectations, allowing them to hope that it will gather the world into its garner, working in the person of the successors of Jesus, Paul and his fellow-workers, with unequalled boldness and success, and without a check. (Luke xix. 11, &c., xvii. 22, xviii. 29, 30. Comp. Matt. xix. 29, Luke xii. 3, Matt. x. 27.) A rich Gospel literature, mentioned by the author, shows, on the other hand, that the development of Christianity was advanced both in fact and in time. (i. 1-3.) From all this we may conclude that the Gospel was written after the year 70, probably long afterwards, in the midst of the Gentile era, but also of the victorious campaign of the Gentile-Christian Churches of the post-apostolic age: before the time of Trajan, since the book is full of a belief in the unchecked diffusion of Christianity, and before the Gospels of Mark and John: that is, about the year 90. The old writers have also held this book to be subsequent to Matthew, and made use of it more rarely and later: by modern critics its date has generally been assigned to the years 70-100.*

* Comp. Irenæus on its age, 3. 1, 1: Post vero horum excessum (Death of Peter and Paul) Mark wrote and Luke (about the same time). In 3, 9, and 10, he

The writing of the Gospel is evidently removed in place as well as in time from the theatre of the sacred life. In the first place, "the Jews," their speech and customs, and even the disputations of Jesus in matters of the law, are somewhat unfamiliar to him: this can be explained from his position as a Gentile-Christian. But the author has not even mastered the geography of the Holy Land. His description of the journey of Jesus to Jerusalem is altogether inaccurate: ignorant of the boundaries of districts, he finds it possible that Jesus should have taken an incredibly long time to journey from Samaria to Galilee, and he simply describes the little city of Nain, in Galilee, as a city of Judea, (ix. 52, &c., xvii. 11, vii. 11, 17). No one of later times has doubted that this work was composed far from Palestine: and when taken in connection with the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospel of Mark, the evidence is in favour of a Roman origin.

β. *Sources.*

These facts by no means exclude its taking a place as a valuable contribution to history. If the evangelist had at his disposal older sources of various kinds which are now wanting to us, if he worked up his material carefully, and in some sense critically, he may take a position equal to that of the earlier Matthew. The preface of the book does in fact arouse our confidence. It shows that he had many previous works at his disposal, only no "histories" which came immediately from the Apostles, that, as Origen has already observed, he was so far dissatisfied with their "endeavours" as to be conscious of their difficulties: therefore he promised to make another attempt, and although quite without fresh sources, peculiar to himself, yet with

follows Matthew, Mark and Luke. According to Clem. Alex. ap. Eus. 6, 14, Luke was written *before* Mark; those Gospels containing the genealogies are the most ancient. This is contrary to Credner-Volkmar, Kanon, p. 384. Its use is first apparent in Justin and the Clement. homilies, (comp. 9, 22, 19. 2,) in Barnabas, not to be proved in 1 Clem. and not in the Shepherd. Papias (Eus. 3. 39) does not mention Luke. Irenæus declares that the Gospel was used by the Ebionities, although they rejected Paul. Hær. 3, 15. 1.

thorough revision of the materials already collected, he wishes to narrate the whole of the Gospel history from the beginning, accurately and in order.*

The sources used by him are in some measure within our own grasp, in the Gospel as well as in the Acts of the Apostles; this is a sign of his willingness to depend on old records, as well as on his skill as an author, when these records were trustworthy, even when they did not fully satisfy his taste, nor perhaps his dogmatic standpoint. But it can hardly be denied that these were precisely the sources which in many ways denied to his Gospel the completeness he had succeeded in giving to his Acts of the Apostles. Our business now is merely to state generally the sources which are the most apparent.

His chief sources lay within the range of Jewish-Christianity, as the preface itself intimates. Köstlin has accurately observed this. He has with special preference made use of a work characterised by Jewish peculiarities, together with devotion to the holy city, to a life subject to the law, and to a Messiahship of the house of David, a work which exalted poverty, and was bitterly opposed to the world and to the princes of the world. This Ebionite record, by no means a mere collection of sayings, as modern critics believe, is evidently diffused throughout the Gospel, through the history and the sayings, from the preliminary history until the end in Jerusalem; it was a complete and full Ebionite Gospel, to which the writer, diverging from it in larger matters, has been able to give an ancient and Jewish stamp by means of the similarity of his principles. The preliminary history commends the poor, in distinction to the rich, setting forth the poverty of the holy family, while the later history afterwards relates the poverty of Jesus. The sermon on the mount is a manifesto in favour of

* 1. 1-4. Comp. Orig. Hom. in Luke i: Hoc, quod ait, *conati* sunt, latentem habet accusationem eorum, qui absque gratia spir. s. ad scribenda evangelia prosiluerunt. Matthæus quippe et Marcus et Joannes et Lucas *non sunt conati* scribere, sed spiritu s. pleni scripserunt evangelia

the actual poor, and the later sayings and parables are favourable to poverty, and exhort men, with the utmost severity, to give away all their goods, (i. 52, ii. 7, 24, viii. 1, &c., vi. 20, &c., xi. 41, xii. 33). The parable of the unjust steward, of the invitation of the poor into the kingdom of God, of Lazarus and the man clothed in purple, the story of Zacchæus, of the poor widow, of the inheritance, and of the rich husbandman give emphasis to the same principle, (xvi. 1, &c., 19, &c., xii. 13, &c., xiv. 12, &c., xviii. 1, &c., xix. 1, &c., xxi. 1, &c.). The contrast between riches and poverty is as that between righteousness and unrighteousness, between light and darkness, between now and formerly, between the devil and God, (xvi. 1, &c.). The devil is the well-endowed prince of this world, he tempts Jesus in the desert in a campaign of forty days, and ever anew until his death: in the person of the numerous possessed he rages against Jesus, he enters Judas, one of the twelve, and threatens the others, Peter especially, so that Jesus can hardly by prayer save them from falling, and after the death of their Master, the widowed church cries to heaven: Save me from the adversary! (iv. 1-13, 33, &c., x. 18, xxii. 3, 28, 31, xviii. 3). These are the most evident signs of the original Gospel. Subjection to the spirit of the law in its narrower sense is not wanting, but Luke has, on the whole, been less concerned with these questions. This at any rate is clear, that the preliminary history declares the subjection of the holy families to the law, and that Luke has deliberately cut out those sayings of Jesus in the sermon on the mount which refer to the law, but occasionally, as in the introduction to the parable of Lazarus, and at its conclusion, he allows them to stand.*

This original Gospel is at the same time a remarkable companion of Matthew's. They are in literal agreement in some

* The ἀλλά of the sermon on the mount, vi. 27, is remarkable: does it refer to a preceding statement against Pharisaism, which has been struck out? Comp. Matt. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν. And again, xvi. 16.

sayings and stories. Surmises of two kinds have arisen from this: Luke has simply made use of Matthew, or Matthew of Luke; or if not, both have made use of a common Gospel, a collection of sayings, or rather a Gospel: Matthew is declared by some, Luke by others, to have handed down the sources with greater faithfulness to their original form. In fact, the last is the only open question: the simple use made by the evangelists of each other, as it has been lately suggested by Baur, is contradicted, at least by the fact that the texts are too distinct, that the Pauline Luke in particular, could not possibly have made the sayings in Matthew more Jewish than they already were, which however he has done. The source of Luke is, however, evidently later than our Matthew, as Weizsäcker also has observed, in opposition to Bleek and Holtzmann, who wish to find in Luke the original form of the collected sayings.* The source of Luke may have been in the main a work consisting of old and new materials, partly due to Matthew, if not indeed one of the many Ebionite versions of our Matthew. There is a mass of fresh, and in many cases of later material, both of sayings and of histories, often in a freshly arranged connection, circumlocutions, refinements, slight conceits, as may be seen in the divisions of the sermon on the mount, and the sermon to the Pharisees: above all, there is the new, unhealthy, and perverted spirit of Ebionitism and of dualism, instead of the sound, theocratic, and moral tone of Matthew.† It is a sign that criticism of the Gospels is still in its infancy, when any one can assert that the sayings in Luke are on the whole earlier than those in Matthew. An apparent proof of this assertion has been given from the more diffuse and aphoristic forms of many of the sayings in Luke,

* Weizsäcker, p. 129, et seq. Comp. also Strauss, 125; Bleek, 271; Holtzmann, 126, et seq.

† vi. 20, xi. 37. The sermon on the mount, e.g. proves the dependence on Matthew. I reckon among the gravest offences, in addition to the evident Ebionitism the taste for comparing God and religious men to earthly sinners. Comp. xvi. 1 et seq., xviii. 1, et seq.

which may favour the assumption that Matthew and Luke have made use of two branches of one source, and that Matthew, or the record which he followed, has preserved more of the original spirit, Luke of the original form: when more closely considered, this opinion is also untenable on the general grounds that the form of Luke's additions have still less of the original source, and are indeed partly, as will be shown, his own decentralizing work.*

Together with this Ebionite version of Matthew, Luke has also, as Strauss observed, had access to our Matthew in its older form, Matthew without the preliminary history, and later additions. He does not declare himself satisfied with a source, which resembled Matthew, even if he guarded himself carefully by the use of this source in his independence of Matthew. Thus, although by a circuitous route, Griesbach and Baur are in agreement. The later date of the third Gospel, its reference to many sources first permits this assumption, and it is justified by its arrangement. We will weary no one with many detailed proofs, but only point to the plan. The fair order of the Gospel history, the two great periods of the preaching of the kingdom, and the preaching of the passion, each period with its four stations, are all characteristic of Matthew. The written sources of Luke, and especially the Ebionite treatise which was derived from Matthew, cannot have possessed this exact order, which is disturbed by the abundance of interpolations, of a discursive nature, of which Luke gives a strong proof in the chapters x.-xviii. Now the fact is very remarkable, that Luke has a satisfactory order, so long as he is in any agreement with Matthew, and so again, from the point of his return from the labyrinth of interpolation to the history in Matthew. He has in particular two chief periods, only in a

* Comp. Weizsäcker, p. 139. The above does not exclude the belief that Luke, or rather his source, is in several cases more ancient and original. But it is not the Ebionite source, only the source from which this was taken, which is the most ancient.

somewhat altered form, since Jesus, journeying as a missionary, has become to him the type of the Apostle Paul, which Matthew had in some degree indicated: there is the journey of the kingdom, and the journey of the passion.* It follows from this later point of view, that the second main period begins a moment later, not at Cæsarea Philippi, but with the journey from Galilee to Jerusalem.† His dependence on the fundamental division of Matthew is the more evident, since Luke has by no means prepared the way for the exalted course, the decision to suffer, the road to suffering: Matthew leads up to this with brilliant success, but the conflicts and the shrinking of Jesus are wanting, or have unfortunately been used in the early beginning.‡ The distinct stations of the first great period are taken from Matthew, but somewhat differently arranged, as it was required by Luke: the station of his words of inauguration, of his sermon on the mount, of the parables, of the mission of the Apostles, are all the skeleton of the organism, round which the whole flesh of the narrative must be arranged.§ In lesser matters, the grouping of subjects, even in their fourfold arrangement, appears as an imitation.‖ The stations of the second great period are also in evident connection with Matthew, and indeed in such a manner that the whole unpliable material of interpolated stories and sayings is forcibly subjected to the dominating theories; only the four stations are not defined by the harmonious, progressive announcements of the passion, but rather by the stages of the

* Comp. Luke iv. 14-43. And especially viii. 1, before the parables. These passages are adapted for comparison with Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, passages which have lately been ascribed to the contributor.

† ix. 51. Baur has also admitted this.

‡ A slight consideration of the clause before ix. 51, will prove this to any one. The conflict at the very beginning is fatal. iv. 29, vi. 11.

§ The interpolation of the mission of the apostles, ix. 1, is to be explained from ix. 51, x. 1.

‖ Comp. in beginning, four miracles, four conflicts, four new miracles in correspondence with the parables, finally the fourfold failure of the disciples before entering on the journey to Jerusalem.

journey of suffering, through Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and finally to the Passover feast at Jerusalem.*

Besides these main sources, which are Jewish-Christian, several come into view from the other extreme of the Church, which have Pauline tendencies. A Samaritan source is very obvious. The Samaritan histories of various kinds, contained in this Gospel, the journey through Samaria, the description of the compassionate, and again of the thankful Samaritan, must first have issued from accounts of the church in that district, which was converted in the apostolic age, and was zealously eager about their threads of connection with the person of Jesus, who occasionally encountered, and singled out, a Samaritan, and indeed visited the land itself with greater favour than the Jewish-Christians had supposed, and asserted. It is exceedingly easy to believe in the identity of this source with the accounts of the Samaritan mission, which is used by the author in the Acts of the Apostles. We need not think that these records were composed by a disciple of Paul, to whom Samaria was only a type of Gentile Christianity and of its privileges, nor by Luke himself, who writes in the same sense: we should, in such a case, so far as Samaria was not purely Gentile, and not Pauline, rather have received Tyrian or Syrian histories, than Samaritan. It is also possible that the important history of the mission of the seventy disciples, as messengers of healing to the whole of mankind which was not Jewish, belongs to Samaritan sources. It cannot be asserted that Luke was the author of this history, after the Judaizing spirit of the address made by Jesus to the seventy on their return: the close connection of this mission with the Samaritan histories which are in that part of the narrative point to a Samaritan source. On the other hand, the question must remain open whether the instructions given by Jesus to the seventy, as they now stand in Luke, were pre-

* (*a*) ix. 51; (*b*) xiii. 22; (*c*) xvii. 12, xxii. and especially xviii. 15, point to Judea; (*d*) xix. 11.

pared from these sources, or by Luke, no doubt as an addition to the words addressed to the twelve in Matthew.

It is more difficult to distinguish the purely Pauline sources. It is not always easy to discover what the author owes to oral tradition, and what he has freely altered in a Pauline sense, partly on a groundwork of Jewish sources, as in the preliminary history. Single histories, such as that of the woman which was a sinner, and of Martha and Mary, might also have arisen on a Jewish-Christian ground. We may, however, think it fairly probable that these belong to Pauline sources:—the account of the last supper, which, although independent, is in strong agreement with Paul, as well as the series of stories which set forth the grace of forgiveness, the humility of penitent faith without works, the resemblance to the temper of Abraham, which was to be found in certain Jews, and the compassionate reception of the Gentiles, especially in the story of the woman which was a sinner, of Mary, of the prodigal son, of the publican, and of the unprofitable servants. Many of these passages betray a tolerably late origin, while they are partly composed from earlier Jewish material, as in the story of the woman which was a sinner, and partly developed from the late apostolic union of the two parties, as in the prodigal son. (Luke x. 8, comp. 1 Cor. x. 27. Luke vii. 36, comp. Matt. xxvi. 7. Luke xv. 11, comp. Matt. xviii. 12.)

γ. *Aim and Plan.*

The author must always remain beside, and above his sources, however diligently he may use them, and however valuable they may be in themselves. He has declared in the aforesaid preface what he proposes to offer: not precisely, as Strauss thinks, more vividness, variety, and completeness, but the whole compass, the order of time, and exact details of this history. (Luke i. 1-4.) We can indeed follow his statement: he has given the whole compass of the life of Jesus, and he begins from his childhood, and concludes with the ascension,

going further back and further forwards than Matthew himself: he has kept the order of time, since he furnishes dates, often sets aside the system of a grouping of facts, assigns to each time that which belongs to it, and brings histories and sayings into a fresh, and often a striking connection, and since finally he so strongly asserts the solemnity of their appointment, that he distinguishes the words of instruction spoken by Jesus to his Apostles into three kinds, and inserts before the first an account of the solemn selection of "the Apostles," and naturally crowns it with an oration.* He has aimed at accuracy and fulness, while interweaving many fresh stories and sayings, and enlarging the old by an abundance of careful details, and partly also by distributing them into several acts, as in the history of the daughter of Jairus, and again removing them from the history when they seem to be untenable. (The feeding of four thousand. The fig-tree.†)

We confess that we do not wholly follow him in all this. One part of the accuracy and fulness which he proposes to afford is no doubt the spirit of the Gospel, the true adjustment of its key-note. The ancients, without dwelling on the preface, have rightly divined that the Gospel of Luke is the Gospel of Paul. They came to this conclusion, as much from the person of the supposed writer, as from its contents, and indeed believed that Paul himself had in his letters referred to this as his Gospel.‡ On the other hand, it can undoubtedly be shown

* Comp. ix., x., xii. On the other hand, Weizsäcker, p. 38, is able to discover traces of unauthenticity in Matthew's sermon on the mount, and mission-sayings. They may be sought elsewhere. Which is the most simple: the election and consecrating words of every description, or no express election and one discourse. The assertion is false, that Jesus had in the sermon on the mount retired from the people, who, according to Matthew, were in solemn attendance on him, and that ix. 36-38, is intended to establish the election and not the mission.

† Comp. the two acts, viii. 41, 49, (in which he is followed by Mark, v. 21, et seq.) in opposition to Matt. ix. 18, et seq.

‡ Comp. Irenæus, 3, 14, 1: Non solum prosecntor, sed et cooperarius apostolorum, maxime autem Pauli (who in his epistles himself alludes to him). Hier. Cat. 7, expressly: Scripsit evangelium, de quo idem Paulus: misimus, inquit cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias. (1 Cor. viii. 18.)

that Luke has referred to Paul, praising and defending him, in the Gospel.* Among the modern critics, there is no further dispute as to this Pauline character, nor is Holtzmann justified in disowning the marks of a Pauline tendency.

Much, in fact, appears altogether Pauline, especially when we compare it with the Gospel of the Jewish Christians. The sole right of the Jews to the kingdom of God is abolished. We do not read that Jesus came only to them and forbade the road to the Gentiles. On the contrary, the very first preaching in Nazareth destroys this illusion, and the Gentiles, for whom the early history had already opened a way to Christ, are preferred before the unbelief of the Jews, which is diffused, not only among the priests but also among the people. (Luke iv. 24, &c. xiii. 26.) Hence the docility of the Samaritans, of the centurion, of the Gentiles at the death of Christ. Hence, so many words of toleration and of the call of the Gentiles, the journey through Samaria, the mission of the seventy, before whom Peter and the twelve fade.† The law also is declining. Instead of the law as it was taught by Jesus, we have a broader preaching of morality from the mount, legal questions are readily evaded, the law and the prophets last only till John, and only contain predictions of the Christ. Humble faith and practical love of our neighbour are exalted above the law, as is declared in many Pauline histories, and this is the very essence of the law, exercised by the sinful woman, and by the Samaritan. The person of Christ waxes greater: he it is who was wonderfully born of a virgin, from whose miraculous person virtue flows, who calls the dead out of the sepulchre, who dethrones the devil and his angels, who knows all things, who puts the disciples to shame, who collects them in a flock in Galilee, who escapes miraculously, who himself intercedes with God when he is on the cross, and commends himself to Him, instead of uttering the

* xii. 3, xiii. 25—30. Comp. ix. 49, xiv. 23 (Matt. xi. 12). Comp. Strauss, 124.
† Comp. C. x. with C. ix.

bitter cry of suffering, and who visibly ascends up into heaven. Metaphysics already begin to attach themselves to his nature: he is a descendant from Adam, not the son of David, nor the son of Abraham: he is, as with Paul, a second creation, which promises salvation anew to all the world. It is indeed possible to find in the words "the Wisdom of God" a title of Jesus, and with it the first slight intimations of his existence before the worlds.* Who will wonder if, beside this interpretation, the whole system of the Jewish expectation of the kingdom is gradually overthrown, both for that time and for the future? The kingdom is wherever Jesus is, even if he is not clothed in royal purple, and when he departs, is still there, conquering the world in might and in spirit.†

But this is only one aspect. The author is no harsh, nor even strict follower of Paul, but he wishes to take a middle course. The toleration of his master is here extended, in the spirit of the later apostolic age, to concessions in theory, and compromises in church organization. The critical school, on account of the characteristic contradictions in this Gospel, has come to believe in two contributors, and while so fairly justifying its Pauline spirit, they have as strongly preferred the mutilated Marcion Gospel, the "Original Luke," to the canonical Luke, which is a sign of their own finite judgment. The conciliating disposition of the Pauline author is particularly shown by the unrestricted use of sources drawn from both parties, and also in the graphic image of the principle, in the parable of the prodigal son: as in his Acts of the Apostles, the author does not here refuse to recognize a Jewish Christianity, which takes its own line in observing the law, so long as it respects the privileges of the Gentile Christians, their repentance and their joy. (Luke xv. 11, &c.) It is consistent with these premisses, that the appointment of the kingdom for Jews that believe in Abraham should be maintained: that the saying of the twelve thrones of the

* Comp. iii. 38. The Wisdom of God, xi. 49. Comp. Matt. xxiii. 34.

† xvii. 20, 21, ix. 27, xix. 11.

Apostles, and of the twelve tribes should be given, and that a prayer of forgiveness for Israel should be spoken on Golgotha.* Indeed the author goes so far as to insert sayings as to the eternal worth of the law, at least in subordinate places, and in favourable circumstances, which limit its bearing, while he does at the same time give full satisfaction to the spirit of modern Jewish Christianity, by his decided acceptance of the Ebionite principle, from which Paul does not deter him.†

It is intelligible enough that the aim of the Gospel must also define its plan. Some, even the cautious Bleek, have been very willing to speak of the traces of an original Gospel in the book of Luke.‡ That which is ascribed to the original Gospel is often in fact the free and original act of Luke, as we have spoken of it among the sources. It has been indicated how much his decision to give all in order favoured the more special incidents instead of groups, to which, however, the artistic connection is not wanting, of introductions, stories, parables and sayings, (whether this connection is in each case due to Luke, or to his source). But let us consider him as Pauline. From the Pauline position, it will be intelligible that the words of inauguration spoken by Jesus should be a sort of declaration of war against Judaism, that even at the outset four great conflicts should arise with the Pharisees (the oath-breakers, the publicans, two disputes about the Sabbath), that there should be fresh disputes with the Pharisees and the people after the sermon on morality, and that the first main division closes with a fourfold proof of the weakness of the twelve, while the second opens with the same.§ In opposition to Judaism,

* xxii. 30, xxiii. 34. Comp. the son and daughter of Abraham, xiii. 16, xix. 9. A like observation in Strauss, p. 123.

† Subjection to the law, xvi. 17, xi. 42. Kernel of the law, x. 26. The Jewish Christians, Ir. 3, 15, 1.

‡ Einl. 266.

§ iv. 16, v. 17, vii. 24, ix, 28-50, 52-55. Comp. with this Weizsäcker's suggestion (p. 44), &c., that Matthew has unskilfully altered the original Gospel, that is, has postponed the disputes about the Sabbath which had already begun to a later date, (as if these did not belong to Luke's plan) and had placed the great miracles

before which the greatest testimony, the greatest miracles, which have been artistically heightened to its close, come to nothing, the second main division has become the justification of the Gentiles: the Lord's journey to his death, which was the work of Judaism, does not, as Luke significantly declares, only end in his ascent or "receiving-up," it has sown the joyful seed of the mission to the peoples, whose land the Lord had trodden and honoured by his most exalted sayings of the kingdom, to whom he sends messengers in large measure and with uplifted voice, and from whom he reaps the harvest of faith and love, thankfulness and success.

8. *Trustworthiness.*

There can be no doubt that the book was composed by the fellow-worker with the Apostle Paul.* At least it is not intelligible how a mere supposition should have fastened on this name, which is particularly prominent in the Roman Epistles of the Apostle. It is also apparent that a man who had become a follower of the Apostle about the year 62 (since all the assertions of his accompanying Paul on the second journey are idle tales) might write about the year 90, and that he might write in such a manner, that is, so distant from the events and in such a mediating spirit.†

We are now to some extent in a position to answer the ques-

(the storm, &c.) earlier. Cannot also the removal of the great miracles to the end, viii. 22-56, ix. 10-17, belong to the plan ?

* It is however doubted by Hilg., Köstlin, Volkmar, Zeller and Strauss, p. 137. He does not account for the way in which men came to apply to him the "We" of the Acts of the Apostles, which he is justified in not referring to Luke. First Witnesses, Mur. Iren. Clem.

† The person of Luke first appears in Col. iv. 14 ; Philem. 24 ; 2 Tim. iv. 11. The Apostle was avowedly acquainted with him in Rome. If we are to suppose that all or half of the Acts of the Apostles is to be ascribed to Luke, the statement admitted in the inquiry about John need not be repeated, that Luke has from modesty not named himself in the "We," or has only done so once. It is, according to the Acts of the Apostles, impossible that any one but Silas and Timothy should have accompanied Paul to Europe. (Comp. xv. 40, xvi. 3, 10), and 2 Cor i. 19, confirms this impossibility.

tion which is most important for the life of Jesus. The Gospel affords much new material, much that is placed in a fresh connection, many fresh points of view. We cannot underrate such rich contributions to the Gospel history, drawn by Luke from other sources. Much that is communicated from a source which is not itself very ancient, may yet be really old and of Christian antiquity. This applies both to Pauline and Samaritan sources: is it wholly improbable that Jesus may here and there have encountered Samaritans, unnoticed by the Jewish-Christian narrators, and of whom they were willingly silent? The Ebionite Gospel stood still nearer to the scene of the history of Jesus: many an inestimable word of the Lord, many of his real acts may be here preserved, and it is almost more valuable to compare the peculiar form and connection of the sayings and histories critically with Matthew, or at least to establish the rather doubtful historical connection which can be more or less freely and artistically formed. On the other side, it must not be concealed that these very sources warn us to be watchful and very careful in the use we make of Luke. The groundwork of Matthew is no doubt earlier than them all, and on that account it is to be preferred in a disputed point, and where the merits are otherwise equal, even if here and there the higher authenticity of the composition of Luke cannot be mistaken, as for example in the story of the good ruler (xviii. 18). But later times have also infused their legends and tendencies more strongly. Nor is it merely necessary to receive with the greatest caution the exaggerated miracles, whether it be the young man on his way to burial, or the Lord who requires the chamber for his last supper. The stress laid on poverty in the Ebionite sources, the journey through Samaria and the mission of the seventy, in which the church of that place believed, as well as the reconciliation of parties in the Pauline manuscript must all be considered doubtful.

Doubts about the writer who made use of these sources, if

indeed he did so use them, are still more urgent. At one time Origen wished to maintain, from the preface in Luke, that his predecessors had indeed written rashly, but he with the assurance of the Holy Spirit. But however conscientiously he might set to work, the task, to one who was as it were belated, of composing true history out of conflicting and contradictory material, as the Fragment of Muratori admits, was also a daring one.* There was no thought of any searching criticism of his sources, on which he essentially relied, and the composition of the whole was based on subjective opinions. These opinions were guided by the formal rules which he had himself laid down in the preface, and which his Pauline principles made a matter of obligation. Therefore he wrote a history, not falsifying it as a writer of romance, nor as a man of ecclesiastical tendencies, but as he believed that it was, or, in some cases, as it might have been. He has however done violence to the actual history in many instances, irrespective of his sources. There can be no doubt that he, as a skilful writer, amended the chronology to suit the standpoint of his age, nor that he omitted or perverted references to the law, and to Jewish Christianity, even when, as they were to be found in his sources, nor again that on the other hand he inserted, in contradiction of all history, of all development, in contradiction of Paul himself, the great view of the preaching at Nazareth, and afterwards the journey through Samaria, and the instructions to the seventy disciples of the Gentiles, which is borrowed from that to the twelve. Whoever understands his plan, must understand also the amount of liberty in composition which would ensue from it. We may here mention (without reference to his Pauline tendencies) his formal view of the sequence of events. What a host of artistic combina-

* This speaks more unfavourably of Luke than of Mark. Of the latter it is said: quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit. Of Luke it is said: nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne. Et idem, prout assequi potuit. (Comp. Luke i. 1.)

tions, in one place plans and introductions before the histories, in another descriptions, in another sayings added to the histories, in another elaborate series of controversies, or of acts of weakness in the disciples in the fourfold form which he prefers, in another again, a studied climax in the succession of miracles! The boasted originals must first be sought out and the claims of Luke, as compared to Matthew, be diligently proved in every instance.*

C.—Mark.

a. The Date.

We now approach the shortest of the synoptical Gospels, to which most modern critics have ascribed the highest antiquity, notwithstanding the signs of its late date.†

Mark does not himself profess to be of an early date. The predictions of Jesus are indeed somewhat less altered, the experience of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem less apparent than in Luke, but many traces point to the same date, or indeed to one further removed from the apostolic age and that of Jerusalem. Nor are careful corrections of the predictions of Jesus wanting: the signs of his coming again are not to follow "immediately" on the fall of Jerusalem, the priests are not "hereafter" to see Jesus sitting in glory, and coming again, the last survivors of the band of disciples will not behold the Son of man,

* The introductions are, *e.g.* iv. 16, et seq., iv. 33, et seq., xix. 11, et seq., xi. 1, xii. 41, &c. Connection of parables and histories: mission and fishing: v. 1. Nain and the saying to John, vii. 11. Mission of apostles and the feeding: ix. 1-17. Comp. v. 13. Connection of sayings and sayings, and of sayings and histories, *e.g.* saying of the law and of the rich man, xvi. 16. Lord's Prayer and parables, xi. 1. Sayings of want of care and parable of husbandman, xii. 16. Succession of miracles: comp. the greatest miracles at the end: storm, the Gadarenes, Jairus, the woman with the issue of blood, viii. 22-56; and the feeding, ix. 12. The healing of the lunatic, ix. 38, serves as a four or five fold proof of the incapacity of the disciples. Only a portion of these elaborate conceptions, particularly those of chaps. xi.-xvii., can originate from an Ebionite source.

† In addition to the principal works, comp. Baur, das Marc. Evang., 1851, and the articles of Baur, Hilgenfeld and Zeller in the Theol. Jahrb. and in the Zeitsch. wiss. Theol.

but only the kingdom of God come "with power."* The coming of Christ is wholly uncertain, he himself knows not the hour, and it is possible that all the watches of the night will pass away before he comes.† Instead of the invisible unlooked-for Lord, even more stress is laid than in Luke on the foundation he has laid, the kingdom of God on earth, and his blessing. The kingdom of God grows, while the Master sleeps, and presses onward mightily, and even earthly blessings, multiplied a hundredfold, are not wanting to his disciples before the end come, only somewhat mingled with the sorrows of persecution.‡ The Gospel takes the place of Christ, the twelve are replaced by the community, which bears the name of Christ, and is to receive in a special and final manner his admonitions, even up to Gethsemane.§ No passage shows the late date, and that it was a date subsequent to Matthew and Luke, better than that concerning the earthly blessings. "A hundredfold in this present time, houses and brethren, sisters and mothers, and children and lands, with persecutions." This saying, compared with Matthew and Luke, shows the full and wide naturalization of Christianity on earth, which Mark confirms by the significant way in which he weakens the saying of Jesus against riches, promising happy and peaceful times, occasionally interrupted by storms of persecution. Add to this the name of Christians, the triumphant diffusion of the Master's seed-corn, a silent marvel in the growing communities.‖ We are reminded of the time immediately preceding the enduring attack on the new religion by the Emperor Trajan, of the Christian persecutions under Nero and Domitian,

* xiii. 24, xiv. 62, ix. 1. Comp. Matt. and Luke in each case.

† xiii. 32, 35. Comp. Matt. xxiv. 42.

‡ iv. 28, x. 30. Compare the difference between this passage and Matt. xix. 28, as well as Luke xviii. 30.

§ Gospel, for the Gospel's sake. Comp. i. 15, viii. 35, x. 29, while in Matt. it is: For my sake. The community, iv. 10, 36, viii. 32, 34. (In Matt. only the disciples). xiii. 37.

‖ x. 41, iv. 28.

which quickly swept over Rome. Its relations to Luke as well as to John intimate the year 100 as the approximate date of the last of the synoptical Gospels, which has, according to the hypothesis assigning it to Mark, been ascribed at earliest to the year 60, at all events to A.D. 80. (Volkmar.)

The same conclusion can be deduced from the Fathers. Irenæus has placed the composition of the Gospel of Mark as well as of Luke, in distinction to that of Matthew, in the times after the death of the great Apostle. Clement, indeed, has placed it before his death; Eusebius, in a fabulous chronology, in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Claudius, about A.D. 42. All agree, that Mark wrote after Matthew, and the oldest Fathers, Clement, Irenæus and Tertullian are in favour of the priority also of Luke.* But Mark has been admitted as "a disciple of the Apostle" into the New Testament, since Papias and Justin, just as Luke was, and he was placed rather before this disciple of Paul, as a companion of Peter, the chief of the apostles, by the Roman Church in the Fragment of Muratori, as well as by Origen, and his successor Eusebius.† Finally, the references to Mark are later and more doubtful: the first slight but certain trace is in Hermas, Justin and Clement, as well as in Papias, who gives the name, while Justin seems to honour the book with the name of its patron.‡ The Gospel was favoured with the preference of many Gnostics in the second century.§ Those who supposed that it was written

* Haer. iii. 1. 1. Post vero horum excessum, Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri. comp. 3. 10. 6.

† Clem. ap. Eus. vi. 14, at the time of the preaching of Peter in Rome. Eus. 2. 14-16, causes Peter to come to Rome to oppose Simon Magus, in the beginning of the reign of Claudius. Comp. Hier. v. 1, 8, 11.

‡ Iren. 3. 10. 6. Clem. Hom. 3. 56, 57. 2, 19. Just. Tryph. 106, (Simon Peter. Boanerges,) a quotation. According to the most probable interpretation ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ = Peter, and the Gospel of Mark = Peter. Papias, Eus. 3, 39.

§ Iren. 3, 11, 7: Qui Jesum separant a Christo (Cerinth. &c.) et impassibilem *perseverasse* Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod sec. Marcum est, præferentes evangelium.

by Mark were accustomed to explain the want of favour shown by the Fathers by declaring that Matthew, rich in extent, material and composition, as well as in the apostle's name, had outstripped the Gospel which was "short, abridged, and mutilated."*

β. *The Sources.*

This Gospel has few histories and sayings which have not been already given by Matthew and Luke. That which is the special property of Mark may be partly ascribed to oral tradition, to which some of his new-found names, such as Alexander and Rufus, (xv. 21), point clearly enough, but for the most part, it is derived from written, and particularly from Jewish-Christian sources, such, for instance, as the two histories of the deaf and dumb, of the blind man in Bethsaida, the parable of the seed which groweth of itself, of the salt and fire, of the lord returning home, and the Aramaic words and names used by Jesus, such as Boanerges, Dalmanutha, Bartimæus.† A later colouring is plainly revealed in these additions. The parables of the seed, and of the lord, point to apostolic and post-apostolic times, the miracles of healing show mysterious, extensive manipulations on the eyes, the ears, and the skin, with hand and spittle, and oil, unknown to the earlier Gospels, and even to the Acts of the Apostles, but known to the fourth Gospel, and to the Fathers.‡ Finally, names unknown to others point as such to a late date, especially when they show design and emphasis, as in Bartimæus the blind man, doubly unfortunate, since he was (according to Hitzig) the son of the blind, or, as

* Breve evangelium Hier. cat. 8. Comp. Ir. 3, 11, 8. Μάρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος. Hipp. Phil. 7, 30. Baur. Theol. Jahrb. 1853, 93. Volkmar, 1854, 117. A late ecclesiastical fable (in Cod. Amiat. præf. Hier. in Mark) relates that he was mutilated by himself, in order to avoid becoming a priest (!) (Duncker. 3. 393). Hipp. supposed that Marcion had made use of this Gospel, which had already been brought into ill repute by the use made of it by other Gnostics.

† Comp. the new things in Mark, in Hilgenfeld, p. 146.

‡ Comp. vi. 13, with Luke ix. 6, 9.

others believe, the son of the impure, the leper, not only of the Gentile.

Throughout there is a connection with Matthew and Luke, which favours the assumption first made by Griesbach, then scientifically laid down by Baur, only half admitted by Hilgenfeld, and rejected on insufficient grounds by modern criticism, that Mark relies on both these Gospels.* The opponents of this view, as it is usually given by the boldest advocates of the belief in Mark, are able to adduce, together with the facility with which the whole of Mark could be constructed out of Matthew and Luke, the notoriously later date of Mark, the evidently greater originality of the views taken by his predecessors, and the modification of his material in a modern sense which are everywhere apparent in Mark. We cannot possibly lose ourselves here in the proof of each detail, in the enumeration of all the slight innovations of Mark, of which we shall learn something in considering the spirit of the Gospel: some of his views, which might otherwise be overlooked in the abundance of instances, will here suffice.

The dependence on Matthew is confirmed at once by its identity and by its inferiority in its main arrangement, even without considering that Mark has retained the sequence of events almost exactly, of which the originality must reasonably be ascribed to the evangelist who is evidently the most creative. Up to this time, this matter has been too hastily considered, both in the case of Luke and of Mark. Mark has evidently agreed with Matthew, and has differed from Luke, in placing the decisive turning-point of the life of Jesus in his prediction of his passion, and even more in the proclamation of the Messiah at Cæsarea Philippi, which immediately preceded it.† In connection with this, the second division is made by the monotonous cry of

* Hilg. was in favour of the view that Mark was only dependent on Matt. Das Markus. Evang. 1850. Evang. 1854. Urchristenthum. 1855. Also Abh. in d. Theol. Jahrb. 1852.

† viii, 27.

suffering with which Jesus proclaims the end which is ever drawing nearer, only that the last cry, the cry of the passion, has very remarkably vanished here, notwithstanding its complete harmony with the extremity of the situation.* This is a sign of the less attentive copyist. But the plainest signs are in the first part. The critical incident at Cæsarea, on which all depends, is introduced altogether without the keen and acute discernment of the first evangelist: he does not say, *From henceforth* Jesus began to show unto his disciples, that he must go unto Jerusalem, must suffer and be slain, and must rise again, but he connects it with careless ease: *And he* began to teach them that he must suffer. This is connected with the greater stress which the author wishes to lay upon those words of Jesus which refer to his glory, rather than on those of his passion (and this is in itself another sign) but would he not then have destroyed the whole second part if he had written as an author, and not as a dependant. This however is not the most striking point of all. The great turning-point to the passion is not only intimated, it must also be introduced. Matthew introduces it in the second, third and fourth stations, especially in the last, in his last section before Cæsarea. Jesus wages his decisive battle with the Pharisees, he escapes from them towards Tyre and Sidon, returns to a desert place near the sea, where he feeds the four thousand, escapes anew from the Pharisees and Sadducees, whose temptation he cuts short with a word, and goes again on a far journey, as before in the north-west, so now in the north-east, in the wild, desert mountainous country of Lebanon, the source of the Jordan, near Cæsarea Philippi, where his mouth first proclaims the death which alone lies before him.† How profoundly has Mark, copying in ignorant unconsciousness, mistaken the sense and spirit of this necessary and solemn act of the history. He indeed has also retained the important sections of Matthew, the trenchant

* (*a*) viii. 27. (*b*) ix. 30. (*c*) x. 32. (*d*) xiv. 1.

† Comp. x. 24, xi. 20, xii. 14, xiv. 13, and especially xv. 1-16, 27.

sermon to the Pharisees, the journey to Tyre, the feeding of the four thousand, his temptation by the Pharisees; but after transposing the disputes in the first beginning (iii. 6,) he has not at the critical point a conception of the situation, of the highest development which crowns the prediction of death at Cæsarea Philippi: after his conflict with the Pharisees, Jesus goes calmly to his house, as shortly before he goes after the murder of the Baptist into the wilderness, for the refreshment of his wearied disciples; he does not go of necessity, and the feeding of the four thousand does not take place upon his retreat, nor does he escape from his tempters by flight, for he continues his ministry and so reaches Cæsarea: we can plainly see the author in his plan and all these histories in Tyre, in the desert and with the Pharisees, occur to him only as histories of miracles, not of persecution, and therefore he directly adds quite fresh incidents to the healing of the woman of Tyre, and the feeding of the people, in the deaf and dumb man at Decapolis, and the blind man at Bethsaida; the four-fold repetition of miracles, as he prefers it, is there, but the decision of death, the centre point of the Gospel, wavers doubtfully between heaven and earth.* If however we should think that the proclamation of the Messiah, or of the exaltation is better brought out in Mark, we are again undeceived. In Matthew, Jesus gives in a longer series even higher revelations as to his person, and he repeatedly charges his disciples with increasing urgency to name and declare the highest name, that of the Messiah: in Mark, Jesus only faintly in the beginning makes a revelation, and the disciples not even on a level with the possessed, remain "without understanding" at the very outset, and the confession of Peter interposes as a marvel without foundation.†

* vii. 1-31.

† Comp. Matt. viii. 27, and likewise Mark iv. 41: then again Matt. xiv. 33, (enthusiastic greeting as the Son of God, but without sober earnestness) and Mark vi. 51. Declarations of Jesus as to himself, before the revealing at Cæsarea Philippi. Matt. v. 17, ix. 1, x. 23, xi. 1, 27, xii. 8, &c. In Mark, only ii. 10, 28.

Mark is in very close agreement with Luke in the sequence of stations, as well as in the incidents of the first part. The critical points of the entrance to the ministry, the choice of Apostles, the parables and the mission of Apostles are here visible, only the fifth station of the preaching to the Pharisees is inserted last, which corresponds to the fourth and last stations in Matthew.* The imitation of Luke is not to be mistaken. Luke, as well as Matthew, has furnished each station with sayings and acts. It is the same in Mark, but in the first and second the underlying sermon is wanting, although not wholly, since we can see its empty space. The station of the sermon of inauguration is opened with two exhortations, which are to be explained by the full sermon of inauguration at Nazareth, as it is found in Luke: the station of the choice of Apostles is so surprising, in its meagreness, combined with great likeness to Luke in its popular scenery, that Ewald has admitted the transfer of the preaching of morals from Luke, and it is not denied by Holtzmann. The series of events are also an essential characteristic of Luke. The preaching at Nazareth is in a serial connection with the proclamation of the fulfilment of prophecy, of the rejection of the Jews, of the calling of the Gentiles, and there is the same kind of plan about the first illustrious act at Capernaum, concerning which Nazareth curiously enquires, the terrible demoniac who acknowledges Jesus of Nazareth, Jesus the Christ, Jesus the destroyer of the kingdom of the devil, and submits to his word. All the remaining material of the first station is composed on the same plan, the four miracles, together with the power of a boundless faith, and the four conflicts down to his enemies' resolution to use force. Mark has also conformed to this plan, only it is weakened, and on some points exaggerated. The demoniac is in his place at Capernaum, yet more terrible than in Luke, but the mighty words with which he was introduced have

* (1) i. 14 (2) iii. 7. (3) iv. 1. (4) vi. 7 (5) vii. 1.

entirely disappeared: the whole series of miracles and conflicts also follows, but the prevailing symmetry of numbers is lost, and instead of being twice four-fold, we have them in three and in four.* It lies in the nature of Luke's plan to oppose to the development which he might have given, and which is the prevailing thought in Matthew, a perfection of the person of Jesus, as well as to introduce the contradictions in which he was involved. The same perfect Christ is also in Mark, but yet more exaggerated. The highest utterances of Jesus are undoubtedly in the first chapter: the concourse of people is altogether boundless, and his adversaries prematurely resolve to put him to death. The conjunction of the points of view of Matthew and of Luke is here wholly betrayed: he shares with the one the solemn revelation of himself made by Jesus at the end, with the other that made at the beginning, with the one the deadly snares laid by his enemies at the end, with the other at the beginning.† There is yet another plan of Luke's. The decisive commencement of the journey to death with the progress of blessing through Samaria is involved in a saying of toleration by Jesus, twice repeated, which is evidently composed by this writer. But Mark has also inserted the first saying of toleration immediately before the setting forth on the journey to Jerusalem, and it appears without concern or connection with the narrative, since the Samaritan journey is omitted.‡ The Samaritan journey reminds us of another of Luke's points of view, in his friendly tone towards the Gentiles, shown by the enlarged circle of disciples, and the striking depreciation of the Jewish twelve. Mark has both of these, but the enlarged circle has only a shadowy form, which can be defined by comparison with the seventy in Luke, and in order to complete the

* i. 14. 21. The miracle of the fish is rejected from the four miracles. (Luke v. 1.)

† Comp. i. 28, 33-45, ii. 1. Important utterances, ii. 10-28. Plan for his murder, iii. 6. To this Luke and his relative simplicity must be compared, especially iv. 37, vi. 11.

‡ Luke ix. 49-56, Mark ix. 38-40. So again the interpolation of the mission of the Apostles is groundless without Luke.

palpable obscurity, the twelve are still further lowered than in Luke by their unintelligible rivalry.* Finally, Luke is, as well as his sources, the patron of poverty, and of the giving away of all property. Whence has Mark no enemy of riches, no protector of absolute poverty, the story of the poor widow? †

In order to complete the impression of the want of originality in Mark, only a glance is needed at the alteration of the text in certain instances, and at the conviction of the motives which led to the composition of the Gospel in the two-fold sense of dependence and of independence, which is offered in the ensuing section.

γ. *Spirit, Aim and Plan of the Gospel.*

Mark proclaims the newness of Christianity. This is from the beginning a new doctrine, clothed with power, with the person of Jesus as its living and prominent centre. The last words of the short introduction, "The Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God," are indeed, although strongly attested, to be erased at the bidding of the Sinaitic manuscript, (as also Tischendorf has done in the 8th edition) and must be regarded as an interpolation taken from John: but still the Son of God is the watch-word of the book; much more than in Matthew or Luke, he is the only beloved Son of God, who stands nearest to God, and much above the angels: and the conception of the word is not as of one who was merely the Messiah, but who was marvellously endowed with might and spirit, which seems to be declared and tacitly supported by a supernatural birth of "the Son of Mary."‡ Köstlin has to this extent rightly estimated the tendency to exalt the divinity

* The "people" take precedence, even of the Apostles, especially in the early chaps. i. 27-45, ii. 2, &c. Compare iii. 32, (Matt. xii. 49.) iv. 11, is the more unintelligible, although its force is weakened. The wider circle, iv. 10, 36, viii. 34, xiii. 37. Depreciation of the twelve, vi. 51, vii. 18, viii. 17, ix. 19, 32.

† xii. 42, comp. x. 24-30. Add to this Luke xxi. 1, xviii. 24.

‡ i. 24, iii. 11, v. 7, xv. 39, *υἱὸς θ. ἀγαπ.* xii. 6. (comp. Luke xx. 13.) Angels, xiii. 32. Spirit, ii. 8, iii. 29, viii. 12. Son of Mary, vi. 3. (comp. Matt. xiii. 55.) According to Hilgenfeld, he here respects the dislike of the Roman Gentiles to the birth from a virgin.

of Jesus. His personality is more mysterious than in either of the earlier Gospels. Jesus speaks words of command which are brief, incisive and hurried: his thoughts are not understood, his knowledge of the future embraces minute details even to the order of time in which the cock shall crow; in his works of healing, which can hardly be reckoned as miracles any longer, but in truth as magic, he makes use of Aramaic words and strained, enigmatical means, his course is breathless, stormy, incomprehensible, since he escapes from the disciples in the middle of the night, conceals himself when they are on a journey, since he is above all heroic, even to death, so that the endurance of temptation, in spite of the devil and the wonderful beasts which appear in Mark, is diminished, and so also is the struggle in Gethsemane, where the storm of prayer is shortened, and on Golgotha no cry of suffering but an amazing and heroic cry ends his life.* The impression made on the disciples and on the people is amazement and fear, on the possessed an awful confession of his divine power. He is believed to be in an ecstacy, and men do not dare to come to him, and when he goes as a hero to Jerusalem, his disciples follow him afar off, and fearfully.† This is a different image of the Lord than that in Matthew, and even in Luke; his humanity is declining, his divinity in human form is in the ascendant: it was an image preferred by those Gnostics who venerated the Gospel of the "passionless Christ," and gives us a suspicious picture of a magic life.

In what is his doctrine new? Chiefly in the person of Jesus, and his claim that men should believe on him.‡ Faith is often demanded, its nature often described, not without

* Hasty word, xiv. 41, 42. Incomprehensible, vi. 51, vii. 18, viii. 17, ix. 32. Knowledge, xi. 2, xiv. 12-30. Healing no special δύναμις, vi. 5. Aramaic, v. 40, vii. 34. Means, vii. 32, viii. 22. Waiting with miracles, vi. 48. Hurried course, i. 35, vii. 24, ix. 30. Heroic, x. 32. Concealment, vii. 24. Temptation, i. 12. Gethsemane, xiv. 36, 39. Comp. also xi. 2 with Luke xix. 30, Matt. xxi. 2.

† iv. 41, ix. 6, 15, x. 24-32. Ecstasy, iii. 21.

‡ ix. 23, xi. 22.

echoes of Pauline teaching. It is faith in Him, who in his unapproachable height is able to give material and spiritual help. One part of the novelty of his teaching consists in his opposition to the ruling powers, to the law and to Judaism. The book speaks, as John does, of "the Jews." In this book there is not a word of the continuance of the law, as it was demanded by the position of Jesus: the very name of the law has disappeared.* References to the Old Testament are throughout rarely employed. The author does not only care to give the conflicts of Jesus with Pharisaism but also those against the teaching and ordinances of Moses, those old wine-skins, of sacrifice, of the Sabbath, of the law of marriage, even against the Temple, (xiv. 58,) and he could not do this more forcibly, in marked contrast to Matthew, than when he provokes the contradiction of his opponents on Moses' authority, in the question about marriage. What has Moses commanded *you?*† The Jewish exclusiveness is also quite lost. Together with the exclusive statements in Matthew, those which opposed them in Luke are indeed also wanting: but on principle, and not merely in the heat of argument, Jesus has throughout declared the equal privileges of the Gentiles, and the noted saying, "The bread belongs to Israel and not to dogs," receives the conciliatory sense, Israel first, then the dogs!‡ The twelve tribes and the twelve thrones are also wanting, and in some sense even the Messiah, while at the same time, the strange saying of the general hatred of the "nations" against the Christians, is contracted to the hatred of "all men."§

* The Jews, vii. 3, ἐντολή only, vii. 8, x. 19.

† x. 5, comp. Matt. xix. 8. The Sabbath to pass away, not only ii. 23, iii. 1, but also xiii. 18, in opposition to Matt. xxiv. 20.

‡ vii. 27. Comp. my Gesehtl. Chr. p. 52.

§ The name of the Son of David indeed appears, (x. 47, xi. 10,) and also the coming again; but more rarely than in Matt. The Son of God is more frequently used, and the Gospel and the kingdom of God, instead of the person of Jesus: viii. 35. ix. 1, x. 29, xii. 34. The earlier conception, "Gospel of the kingdom," is wanting, xiii. 10, xiv. 9. Hatred of all men, xiii. 13. (Comp. Matt. xxiv. 9.)

The opposition between Christianity and Judaism is not the author's final word. There is a law above the law. Moses is above the Pharisees and himself. The divine commands of the love of God and of man, the ten commandments and all moral virtues are inculcated from the mouth of Jesus in opposition to vice, and the sum of all religions is solemnly included, and then confirmed by the scribe in the conception to be found in the Old Testament of monotheistic and ethical religion, which is exalted above sacrifice and burnt-offering. Even the Jewish places of worship, obviously the stronghold of exclusiveness, are in largeness of heart liberally thrown open: the temple is, according to Isaiah, the house of prayer for all nations, and yet if, according to the last words of Jesus, not altogether a holy place, yet one which shuns that which is profane.* In this the author is remarkably at one with Luke, and yet different. He has in many respects inveighed even more strongly against the law and the national limits, which Jesus had not at once broken down in his conflicts with the people, he has set free Jewish as well as Gentile Christianity from the law, while Luke wished to distinguish between them, allowing the Jewish Christianity, which was subject to the law, to stand beside Gentile Christianity, which was free from it. But he has on the other hand vindicated an eternal place for the true, spiritual, moral law, binding Jews and Gentiles to it and to each other in a church which is truly one. He has been usually set down as a Jewish Christian, while, in accordance with an earlier judgment, Volkmar seeks to consider him Pauline.† Both opinions have some foundation, and he has in any case learned from Paul: since he is a Jew by family, as appears from his acquaintance with their language and customs, since he avoids the more pronounced Pauline doctrine, since he asserts the enduring and general value of the Mosaic teaching in contradistinction to Paul, since he insists so much on the faith of the nation that the words of

* xi. 17, xiii. 14.

† Comp. Const. Ap. 2, 57, *συνεργοὶ Παύλου* (Luke and Mark).

rejection spoken by Jesus are scarcely intelligible, he can most probably be accounted among the liberal Jewish Christians who were reconciled to the Pauline teaching, and had in conjunction with it founded the church of the second century, the church of fusion, the church of all men, the church of the new law.

Mark has not explained himself as to the object of his Gospel. The introduction is very general, which is characteristic of this evangelist: only those who still maintain the authenticity of the Gospel of "the Son of God," may affirm his intention to prove the more exalted nature of Jesus in some agreement with the fourth Gospel. But we are compelled to exclude this object from his actual and special undertaking, and we are at the same time far from exchanging the acquisitions made by the so-called Tübingen school, which enquires into the special purpose of the writer, for the generalities ascribed to him by Holtzmann.* It is evident that he was especially concerned, according to his conception of the matter, in opening a path in the kingdom of God for the "new teaching with new force," the teaching of the person and the work of Christ, of the law and of the relations of Jews and Gentiles.† This attempt necessarily stands in the closest connection with the foregoing Gospels, especially with Matthew and Luke. Matthew was in a certain sense excessively Jewish, Luke was excessively Pauline. The church was therefore bewildered by the marked contradictions both in the spirit and material of the two Gospels, and doubtful as to its most sacred possession. Mark appears as a mediator both in his spirit and his material. He wishes to take that which is best and most certain from both schools and by accurate and considerate incorporation of the two, to bring together the sympathies of either side in his book, and the opinions of either side in his conciliatory opinion. He stands nearer to Matthew, because he to some extent took his stand on the ground of Jewish Christianity, and because Matthew's Gospel was early preferred by the

* Holtzmann, p. 384. † i. 27, iii. 8, vi. 5

Jewish Christian community: Luke was only his second source, but it was valuable to him, not only as the original record of the other party, but also from its points of view, its new material and revised sequence of events.*

He sustained his object by the attractiveness which he sought to give his work by means of a more artistic form. Here again he is in accordance with his time, and exaggerates in many ways, as even Weizsäcker admits, Luke's manner of transforming the history. In the first place he writes a short, perspicuous, cursory book, he avoids wearisome expositions of doctrine, which were by this time only intelligible to the Jewish Christians, and prefers to give the highly coloured and imposing histories which were full of action. But he also gives a charm to the sayings, furnishing them with wings, or veiling them mysteriously in strange speech. He makes the histories more effective by the contrast between the hurried advance, marked by the "immediately" which recurs again and again, and the contemplative stillness in which he paints the scenery with a thousand touches,—the house, the sea, the followers, the growing throng, the persons by name, the numbers of men, of beasts, of coins, the green grass, the pillow on the stern of the boat on Gennesareth, all with the light touch of familiar words, and the manner in which it was spoken at the time. He has indeed, as well as Luke, suppressed the generic name of the sacred foal at the entry into Jerusalem, as if he wished the Westerns to think rather of a young horse than of an ass. Add to this the behaviour and bearing, the tones and expressions of Jesus, of his disciples, of those who sought healing, and who were healed. But he is a most careful guide, not only of the reader's observation and perception, but also of his thought. He explains the customs of the Jews, the words of Jesus, which are delivered by Jesus himself in a form which is more intelligible, or less offensive to a Gentile; he confirms his facts and sayings with numerous "*for's*," he makes the miracles and

* Thus Gfrörer, Strauss, p. 132.

works of healing, especially in fresh examples, as intelligible as possible by artistically leading up to them, and points out the incontestable and minute fulfilment of the Lord's sayings.* That he was not, however, always successful in these colourings and illustrations, and that his histories and sayings are throughout of secondary value will be best shown in our historical estimate of the book.

These peculiarities must at once be more or less referred to the circle of readers whom the author had first to consider. The more exact description of the customs of "the Jews," the removal of the specially Jewish passages, instructions and allusions of Jesus, the introduction of the Gentile law of marriage instead of the Jewish, show that he had at any rate thought *also* of Gentile Christians.† The ancients formerly supposed that the readers of the book were Western and Roman, and that even its language was Roman, and the first of these surmises is confirmed by modern research.‡ The numerous Latinisms in this Gospel, exceeding those of Matthew, the name of Rufus, mentioned as if already known, which recurs in the Apocryphal Gospels and elsewhere as the name of a well-known member of the Roman community, and finally the peculiarly conciliatory spirit of the Gospel, which Hilgenfeld and Köstlin have already shown to be consistent with the Jewish-Christian literature of Rome, point chiefly to Rome, and this Roman origin will itself again explain much in the Gospel.§ This Jesus, heroic even unto death, with an imperial step, acting rather than speaking, with his subjection to the moral law, even in the matter of the Sabbath, which was ridiculed by the Romans, on account of its "slothfulness," together with his mysterious miracles, was

* Long descriptions, comp. the remarkable length, vii. 18, et seq. Unhistorical or more intelligible formulas, ii. 27, vi. 8, x. 11-24. Remark in x. 12, the omission of Matt. xix. 10, on celibacy. The foal, xi. 2 (in Matt. and John an ordinary ass). Successions, v. 23, et seq. viii. 22, xi. 13, 14, 20. The fulfilment of the sayings of Jesus. Comp. the fig-tree, the cock-crowing, xi. 14, 21, xiv. 30, 68, 72.

† vii. 1, et seq. x. 11, et seq. Holtzmann, p. 386, supposes that it was only for Gentile Christians.

‡ Iren. 3. 1, 1. Clem. Al. ap. Eus. 6. 14. Comp. the ancient superscriptions.

§ Comp. Köstlin, p. 376.

especially adapted to the Roman soil; and where was this union of the Pauline and the Jewish Christians, of Luke and of Matthew, more stringently demanded than in Rome, where Christianity had lurked since the time of Paul, and where Luke's book had just heightened perplexity?

The plan of the Gospel is essentially dictated by its object.* It aims at throwing out ballast, at overcoming objections, at uniting the two great Gospels. To define the matter more closely: in his first main division Mark chiefly takes Luke for his foundation, in the second Matthew. It is not merely a mechanical undertaking, but is chiefly shown in the effort to avoid the numerous Judaizing parties which are mentioned in the first part of Matthew on the one hand, and on the other to avoid the diffuse novelties of the second part of Luke, which are untrustworthy and to some extent badly composed, the endless journies in Samaria, the seventy, the purposeless collection of sayings and short histories, in which also the precepts of absolute poverty had become intolerable. If we consider the first part, which is the most important, the connection with Luke and his order of events is quite apparent, up to the death of the Baptist, and to the feeding of the five thousand, and from this point he is the less desirous to lose the events which lead up to the heights of Cæsarea Philippi, as they are to be found in Matthew, since he has not to hasten away with Luke from Cæsarea Philippi (the point to which the first parts of Matthew and Mark aim) to the journey through Samaria to Jerusalem. This recourse to Matthew at the close of the first part, explains why Mark adds to it a fifth station, unlike his two fellow-writers: he retains the disputes with the Pharisees, and the last acts before Cæsarea Philippi, which form the fourth and last station in Matthew, while Mark has already exhausted the

* Holtzmann, p. 117, believes that Griesbach's opinion establishes a quite arbitrary interchange with Matt. and Luke. It has often been said that we must not suppose that the Evangelists were occupied with a mere reference to sources, as if Luke had not referred to much more than two sources. (i. 1-4.)

four stations in following Luke, the entrance to office, the choice of apostles, the parables, the sending forth of apostles. The variations from one or the other in details can be easily and definitely explained: it is intelligible that he left out the story of the childhood in Luke, because he did not find it in Matthew, and desired to represent the heroic man, and that he did not accept the forcible interpolation of Luke's history in Nazareth, and also that he took no interest in the incredible conversion of the Lord's words to Peter into an actual miracle of the fish. With these exceptions he has exactly reproduced Luke, and the artistic parts of his first stage, enlarging and defining them. The several proofs as to the other stations would occupy too much space here, and can easily be followed from the harmony of the Gospels; it is only necessary and reasonable to give a little latitude to the freedom of an author.

8. *Historical Value.*

It has been shown that the composition of the writer is the main point in this book, and not the sources. The sources themselves, late rather than early, with every trace of the restless embellishment of tradition, are rarely enough in agreement with the older evangelists, even if they may occasionally claim originality, as in the interesting account of the excitement caused by the miracles of healing, and the form and matter of single sayings of Jesus.

The most important undertaking of the author, the fusion of Matthew and Luke, is not without its historical value. Where criticism is exercised by selection in one case and by rejection in another, it is not founded only on the single judgment which may have been exerted arbitrarily or by chance, but upon the common tradition of the Church, which knew nothing of the additions from Luke, or of the history of the good Master, otherwise than it is narrated in Matthew. Yet the critical value of this selection must not be overrated, and the simply external object proposed in the reduction of two Gospels into one for the use of the Church is not worth much. In the main

point there are two enquiries to make: first, as to the fundamental conception of the nature of Jesus in this book, and next how far the variations from the other Gospels, which we find here, are to be retained.

In the picture he gives of Jesus as a whole, there is a not infelicitous representation of his mighty and heroic action, and yet the wresting of the truth is not to be mistaken. The hurried, restless being does not harmonize with the assured image of Christ. Still less does the dark mysteriousness of the personality which through love won the love of mankind. There is hardly a trace of the development of this personality in the conflict of his knowledge and his will. The representation of the doctrine of Jesus is forgetful of that which was the most characteristic, his doctrine of the law, and even more, the pearl of his doctrine is omitted, his proclamation of the Fatherhood of God: his call of both Jews and Gentiles only shows the points and heights which were useful in later times, while the strongly Jewish foundation, which is given even by Paul, becomes doubtful or indifferent. The several minute details of each incident are especially remarkable. Many are indeed frankly artistic touches, vivid colouring, among which may be reckoned many numbers and names with which his predecessors were not acquainted. But many more of these additions are unfortunate. At one time they are trivially elaborate as in the "one loaf" on board the ship, or the staff on the Apostles' journey; in another they want artistic beauty, as in the comparison of the shining garments of Jesus to the productions of human labour, and this want of beauty is still worse when it mars the sayings of Jesus, as is often the case, by making them into every day platitudes, at one time abstract sayings, at another those of a schoolmaster.* In one place they are palpably illogical, as in the narrative that the demoniac adjured Jesus in the name of God,

* viii. 14, vi. 8. Comp. ix. 3. Platitudes, pleonasms, and abstract sayings of Jesus, or of the author, particularly vii. 8, 13, 18-23, and the questions viii. 17. Also iii. 13, iv. 13, vii. 29, viii. 35, x. 29, xii. 38, 32, &c.

together with the other interpolations of this story: then the strange declaration of Jesus that the Gentiles, even as dogs, should be called in the second place, the introduction of the people in the solemn stillness of the proclamation of the passion, or the calm retreat after the Baptist's death, finally, the noted declaration over the fig-tree, which was cursed that the time of figs was not yet.* In another place they are full of exaggerations, especially in the miracles, in which Luke is, as a rule, surpassed; consider the possessed men of Gadara, the man who had the palsy, the daughter of Jairus, and the woman with an issue of blood: so again in the description of the concourse of people. In another place we find remarkable misconceptions, as in the account of the walk through the corn-field, where one scarcely knows which is more grotesque, the fact itself, the way to which it leads, or the justification from the example of David who ate the show-bread: again, in the story of taking off the roof to admit the paralytic man, in the serious enquiry of the disciples to Jesus, whether they should buy two hundred pennyworth of bread; or again in the motive of the saying as to blasphemy of the Holy Spirit.† We find again alterations which do violence to the words of Jesus, in his conversation with the Canaanitish woman, in the dispute with the Pharisees concerning the Sabbath, concerning marriage, in the saying against riches, in the justification of the purifying of the Temple. There are, finally, things which are unhistorical in their relations to the Old Testament and to contemporary history: the undefined prophet of the other Gospels as Isaïah, the high priest as Abiathar, the brother of the Tetrarch Antipas as Philip; he always describes Antipas himself as a king, and his guests as Galilean nobles in Perea. Else-

* xi. 13.

† ii. 23, et seq. (Comp. with this Matt. xii. 1, et seq. Luke vi. 1, et seq., where the disciples only rub the corn in order to eat it, and then the appeal to David eating is intelligible.) ii. 4. (Luke v. 19, not necessarily taking off the roof, but a letting down in the midst, *i.e.* over the roof. Comp. Matt. ix. 2) vi. 37. (Comp. Luke ix. 13, et seq.) iii. 30. (Comp. Matt. xii. 24-32.)

where, in a few passages, we must on the other hand complain of unintelligible brevity, and call his two fellow-workers to the help of the evangelist. Thus in the history of the temptation, which is the dry skeleton of the dramatic story in Luke, too obscure to be of any use by itself, only somewhat exaggerated by the addition of the wild beasts, which is itself obscure: then at Cæsarea Philippi, where the reproof of Peter, and the strife of the disciples as to which should be the greatest, on the last journey through Galilee, are quite without meaning, without the context: finally in the history of the passion, where the haste of the writer, who is impatient for the end, heaps up the facts, so that the words of Jesus in Gethsemane are not considered, the second cry for his crucifixion is given without the first, and the maltreatment of Jesus with the reed is recorded, although the mocking sceptre has not been mentioned, or the mocking calls for prophesy, of which the object is not told. Many singularities of the Gospel both in general and here in detail are finally explained by the joint use of the different accounts in Matthew and Luke. Thus it is in the remarkable departure of Jesus from Capernaum by night, on the morning of the next day, where Matthew has the night, and Luke the day, the remarkable appearance of the disciples of John and of the Pharisees, where Matthew has mentioned the first and Luke the second, the healing of the woman with the issue of blood, which Luke declared to be by laying hold of the garment of Jesus, Matthew by his word, and Mark by both. But enough of these examples.* They are more than enough to show that Mark is a subordinate source which needs to be most carefully controlled.

On all these accounts, it cannot be maintained that Mark was the author of the Gospel. The tradition that it was composed by him who was a companion of Peter in Rome is extremely old, going back to Justin and Irenæus.† John Mark of

* Other examples in Strauss, p. 131.

† Just. Tryph. 106. Pap. a. Eus. 3. 39.

Jerusalem, would suit such a part, as having been born an Israelite, an acquaintance of Peter in his youth, as well as a companion of Paul in later years, with whom he is found in the beginning and end of his mission. He might have derived his characteristic position as a mediator from his relation to both Apostles. But the companion of the Apostles who is already visible in the year 50, could hardly have been able to write a Gospel with so much vigour about the year 100; if he had been to some extent a witness of the life of Jesus or indeed a companion of Peter, who was a witness of the first order, he would hardly have found it necessary to rely so much on written sources, and it is unlikely or impossible that he should have spoken as he has done, so very unfavourably of Peter and the twelve, even with a view to the greater exaltation of Jesus. The tradition about Mark also shows that it is untenable, in making Mark the companion of Peter at Rome, when he was actually at that very time in the foremost line of the companions of Paul, and even more since it asserts that his Gospel was compiled from the public lectures of Peter at Rome, which is impossible in every point of view. We are therefore not acquainted with the Roman author of the book: he was called Mark because its Roman origin was known or assumed, and because a companion of the Apostles who was according to an early tradition connected with Paul, and also afterwards with Peter, (comp. 1 Pet. v. 13,) appeared to be the best adapted to hand down the correct tradition, as well as to reconcile parties in the Church, in accordance with the contents of the book.*

ε. *The Modern Controversy.*

However forcible these reasons may be for denying the greater originality of Mark's book, yet to this day, and now even more than before the authority of this flowery Gospel still

* The final return of Mark to Peter, which is also assumed by Schenckel, p. 330, is wholly uncertain, and, in spite of the vacillations of Mark (must he vacillate to the end?), it is not probable.

flourishes among those who follow Ewald.* "*Einleitung in. d. N. T.*" fills long columns with the controversy about Mark, and will still protract it. While these preliminary questions of criticism continue, the possibility of composing a life of Jesus which shall be in any degree received as worthy of belief seems to be imperilled: it must be now our task to allay this uneasiness in some degree.

In the first place, the vindicators of Mark have in some important particulars retracted their assertions. Many of its advocates, Ritschl and Volkmar in particular, who wished to take by storm the absolute originality of Mark, are at this time continually more convinced that this position is untenable.† Wilke, the first important advocate, has already asserted that there was a Roman compiler and abridger, who can be made responsible for all that is distasteful, and Ewald, Köstlin, Holtzmann, Schenckel, Reuss, Weiss and Weizsäcker, have gone further in his footsteps. The keen-sighted Schleiermacher had already discovered much more modernizing of the Gospel material than in Matthew, or Luke, as well as an approach to the Apocryphal Gospels in its elaboration and mysteries, and this judgment is now confirmed in still greater measure by those who are most favourable to the book, as may be learned by the advance from Wilke to Ewald, from Ewald to Holtzmann, from Holtzmann to Weizsäcker, and to this extent it is correct that the hypothesis about Mark, of which Ritschl spoke, appears to be extinct. Weizsäcker has spoken of the greater simplicity of Luke, and of an unnatural mannerism in the fresh touches of Mark.‡ It were easy to show, and it is partly shown by

* Comp. Holtzmann, Die Synopt. Ev. p. xiv, his researches in favour of Mark, "which, as I hope, will have confirmed the healthy condition of this hypothesis, as very flourishing."

† Comp. Ritschl. Theol. Jahrb. 1851, 480. Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kritik der Synopt. Ev. Volkmar, Die Religion Jesu, 1857, p. 375. On an asserted offence of Matt. see my Geschtl. Chr. p. xv.

‡ Comp. Ewald. Jahrb. ii. 207. Holtzmann, p. 60. Schenckel, p. 332. Weizsäcker, p. 22.

what is written above, that the critical objections to Mark's narrative in detail might legitimately be carried much further. For Weizsäcker at any rate, with respect to the evident perversion of the words of Jesus to the Canaanite woman, has passed slightly over it with a gentle hand. Very few of the special features of Mark can be allowed to stand in detail: particularly when we consider calmly how Matthew has fared, whose book was in greater use: the Son of Man's ignorance of the future is also to be found in the best texts of Matthew: the carpenter, instead of the carpenter's son, has a Docetic or apocryphal sound, and the approach of his relations, in order to lay hands on him, of which so much has been said, exists only in the fancy.*

On this account it is to be hoped that the attempts to throw the same difficulties in the way of the defence of Matthew as well as the like reproach of omitting whatever is distasteful, will be abandoned; in Matthew we can only distinguish in a few definite points between the Gospel and that which has been added to it: in Mark the traces of a late date are endless, and boundless, the contributor is to be found everywhere, the

* xiii. 32, vi. 3. (Orig. c. Cels. 6. 36, has moreover remarked: *οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλήσιαις φερομένων εὐ. τεκτων αὐτὸς ὁ Ιησοῦς ἀναγέγραπται.*) iii. 21, appears from the context only to refer to the present, *i.e.* to the house in which the disciples were found. C. Zeller has also of late thrown a striking light on the assumed special features of Mark. (Hilg. Zeitschr. 1865, 308.) Since I desire to advocate Matthew's claims with moderation, I will only mention three facts. 1. In Matt. xi. 27, the earliest testimony, reaching back to the fifth century, has assumed that the text was otherwise, and this is in agreement with the context and tone of thought, (in which I differ from Semisch, Apost. Denkw. Justin Martyr, 1848, p. 365.) 2. In Matt. xxiv. 36, the corresponding reading in Mark xiii. 32, had, from dogmatic reasons, almost disappeared from the manuscripts, and we who advocate Matthew (comp. Zeller) have maintained the same for him; now the accession of the Sin. to the Vat. and Cant. Bez. have decided for the reading Mark xiii. 32. 3. In Matt. xxvii. 16, there now appears obscurely a Jesus Barabbas. In this book, which has been greatly read, and often corrected dogmatically, there lurk many late and corrupt corrections, and compared with these the untouched Luke, or Mark or Paul may occasionally appear to be earlier. Comp. Matt. v. 32, and xix. 9; (against Luke xvi. 18, Mark x. 11;) xix. 17, xxvi. 28, xxviii. 19. For the corruptions of the Gospels, comp. Origen, in Matt. xix. 19. Bleek. Einl. 763.

Gospel nowhere. To this we receive the more emphatic reply: the preference of Mark is not founded on the form of its text in various cases, but on its character as a whole, in the unity and equality of its composition.* Mark only has reflected worthily and faithfully the fundamental features of the earliest Gospel, at whose breast the three have drunk, while Matthew and Luke have not indeed disclaimed their common mother, but by their characteristic and strangely bewildering additions of all kinds, they have so misrepresented her that she is in some passages not to be recognized. It is therefore easy to explain Matthew and Luke from Mark, but impossible to explain Mark from Matthew and Luke. Why should he have only obscured their sayings?† But this fresh argument, however plausible it may be, since that which is brief easily wins the preference of the superficial, is as transitory as the fresh bloom of the flowers. Can it be really supposed that the Gospel which is in trifles the most untrustworthy, because it is the most modern, is to put the others to shame by its faithfulness in greater matters? Is it probable that the Gospel which is admitted to be later, and even the latest, should come nearer to the plan of the oldest Gospel than its predecessors, while it has in detail, as everyone admits, been carefully collated with these predecessors? are not the historical premisses as valuable in the one as in the other case? Holtzmann gives an instructive proof of the desperate assumptions to which the first false assumption must lead. In his opinion, no one of the three evangelists has made use of the others: they may have been acquainted with the other Gospels, Luke especially with Matthew and Mark, but since they were "in possession of the sources," which had been somewhat hastily prepared, none made use of the others, and perhaps they were without the means of buying or transcribing them. Why then was Mark, a most authentic transcriber of most authentic sources, unable to refrain from a fresh narration? Whence came this marvel, that after all this obstinate inde-

* Weizsäcker, p. 22. † Comp. Holtzmann, p. 99, 121.

pendence and fresh infusions, which were purely accidental, one Gospel corresponds so closely with another? There is no reply. In the interest of a mechanical explanation, all understanding of the organic growth of this literature must cease. A research into the plan of which so much has been said, offers the best proof to the contrary. For it is not the case that Matthew and Luke have obscured the plan of the original Gospel by inserting the "collected sayings," and other matters before or after their true position, nor yet that Mark, the imperfect imitator of the artificial arrangement of Luke, has restored it in perfect purity. The extensive and complete confusion of the heights of the Galilean history in Cæsarea Philippi must constitute his greatest condemnation, since it could only have come to pass from his reliance at one time on Matthew, at another on Luke.

For the rest, let each man finally hold what he will in this article of faith. The contention is unprofitable for the life of Jesus, so long as we do not exaggerate a belief in the traces of the original Gospel, a belief from which also Holtzmann and Weizsäcker are sufficiently removed.* Let us now come to an agreement: Matthew has inserted the collected sayings: be it so, in that case the "collected sayings" are also of apostolic date, and although the original Gospel may have contained fewer of the sayings of Jesus which referred to the law, as Weizsäcker unintelligibly thinks possible, and the collected sayings more, that does not affect the case, if only both are "apostolic," as Holtzmann in particular has declared with laudable impartiality of the sayings in Matthew.† Let us agree also in this: Mark has followed the earliest and most authentic order of events, as it was to be found in the original Gospel, more closely than Matthew: be it so, yet it must always be admitted that Matthew has taken the same course in

* Weizsäcker, p. 52. Not one of the synoptic writers has quite faithfully, or literally, repeated the common source. Mark and Luke are so far in accordance that the latter frequently gives a shorter and more original text than Mark.

† Comp. particularly p. 379.

his second part, and that in the first he has only differed from the original model of perfection in the position of the sermon on the mount, and of the miracles. How does it affect reasonable criticism, equal to its subject, whether the sermon on the mount or the miracles are placed in this place or that? The fundamental, irresistible fact is, that they belong to Galilee and not to Judea: as to their more correct position in detail we shall be no more assured by the fact that they are so placed by Mark, than if an angel from Heaven had spoken it: we must make careful research into the relations of things to their time, under circumstances which forbid certainty in spite of either Matthew or Mark.

Neither asperities nor despair therefore are necessary to these enquiries. The life of Jesus is to be deduced from the synoptical Gospels, whether Matthew or Mark predominate. We start from Matthew, but true criticism will be shown in neither overrating the one nor despising the other, each in its place.

II.—The Gospel of John.

Luther has, as is well-known, in his famous preface to the New Testament, declared that he was willing to exchange the three first Gospels, and with them the greater part of the New Testament, for the Gospel of John, the unique, tender, true, and chief Gospel. All his needs were satisfied by this Gospel, together with the Epistle to the Romans and the first Epistle of Peter, and he also much prefers SS. Peter and Paul to the slighted three, because they have told him far too much of the works of Christ, far too little of his sweet, consoling doctrine.* How many other estimates might be added to this assertion of Luther's as to its edification and blessedness, which have, from Clement the Alexandrine to Schleiermacher asserted the superiority of this "spiritual Gospel," over the poverty of the synoptical Gospels, declaring it to be full of spirit, sentiment, yearning and mysticism, and at the same time full of energy,

* Walch, Luth. Werke, 14, 104.

of sublimity and width, of variety, and finally of triumph over the perpetuation of Judaism in Christianity.* Our age has cancelled the judgment of centuries, since much has been taken from the historical value of the book by the criticisms which date from Bretschneider and Baur, although not indeed from its spiritual depth, and that which is withdrawn is ascribed to the depreciated synoptical Gospels.† It is not surprising that critical differences have become very hot on this ground. We must claim Luther's own liberty, whom we should call the most radical critic of the free church of the Reformation, in this intentionally greater enquiry, and we shall support our conclusion by the admissions of the most faithful guardians of the book itself.

a. The Aim of the Book.

The usual course of enquiry must here be reversed. In this case it is less easy to start from the traces of its date. They escape from the first glance, they are most intimately connected with the inmost being of the work, while the outward signs of its date are wanting, and in particular the words of Jesus as to the future, a certain resting place in considering the date of the synoptical Gospels, has altogether disappeared. This indeed is one token of its date: it is easy to understand that a later age would have nothing to do with sayings which its predecessors had only accepted with embarrassment and after full and elaborate correction: the time came when even corrections did not avail. So that this sign will take its place later among the others.

In the meanwhile the point in the Gospel, which has often been completely ignored by those who describe the aim of the book, must be grasped,‡ in which the author declares his

* Clem. Al. ap. Eus. 6, 14.

† Bretschneider. Probabilia de evangelii et epistolarum Joanni ap. indole et origine. 1820. Baur. Ueber die Composition und den Character des Joh. Evangelium. Theol. Jahrb. 1844. Also Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, 1847, and later treatises in Theol. Jahrb.

‡ We refer here both to the critical school and to its opponents: *e.g.* Luthardt. Das Johann. Evang. nach s. Eigenth. geschildert und erklärt. (1852-53), i. 208. Credner and Bleek point to the chief passages.

purpose most immediately to later readers. He has, like Luke, declared the object of his writing, only he does it at the close, as Luke at the beginning. "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book, but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life in his name." (xx. 30.) This author, in striking contrast to Luke, declines to give a complete history of Jesus, either of the miracles and acts of which he is more particularly speaking, or of the sayings of which the others contain so much. He gives only a selection, which shall at once build up faith and the knowledge, Gnosis, which goes hand-in-hand with faith, and shall then give life, that is joy, blessedness and fulness of power, to discerning faith. His Gospel is therefore, if we consider all the signs, which distinguish it from the others, not simply a historical, but an eminently practical and true gospel which might help the needs of salvation in Luther's sense. Its object was however historical; the person of Jesus, and even the selection of details, of sayings and of acts, must necessarily be historical, and will strenuously maintain the judgment of faith as to the person of Jesus, (in opposition as will hereafter be shown to Gnostic unbelief,) that he is the Christ, and yet more, the Son of God. But the judgment itself, which is to be deduced from history, and therefore is always the motive of the selection made from the history, is plainly enough introduced into it; and this judgment is therefore no history as such, but only a more or less just conclusion from the history, and as a subjective conclusion it is in some sort a product of the practical need which the whole Gospel must finally satisfy. We can judge by this of Ewald's own estimate in asserting that the Evangelist has sought to give the purest history.*

This express object, which may be compared with the first epistle, (i. 3,) is in fact clearly reflected by the whole of the

* Ewald: Die Joh. Schriften übersetzt und erklärt. vol. i. 1861, pp. 2, 7, 14, 33.

Gospel. We have indeed only a gleaning of histories and sayings, in comparison with all the other Gospels. In this one we have for example only six detailed narratives of miracles, in exchange for twenty; a number of the most important sayings of Jesus are passed over, and the more exact account of the incidents of the gospel history is declined with the intimation that the reader is already acquainted with them.* It is evident, on looking more closely, that the historical narrative is wholly concentrated on promoting faith in Jesus, the Son of God, and his life-giving power. The selected miracles show his truly divine majesty, his sayings are his own continuous testimony to his peculiar nearness to God: and both words and acts establish, not only reverence for his person, but also the certainty of a revelation in his person which was alike divine and human, and an assured possession of eternal life in the communion of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. With this supreme object in view, as it is pursued in the Gospel, it can be well understood how it is that so much of the history of Jesus has disappeared: lesser signs are not needed where the greatest speak; numerous sayings as to the questions of the Jewish law, as to John the Baptist, and even as to the Christian kingdom of heaven, are not wanted, when all else goes by like dross, as nothing in comparison with his person, and his personal and full testimony to himself. The history of his youth and childhood is superfluous and indeed has become doubtful, when we have to do with the man who is worthy of belief, and whose helpless childhood might disturb the belief in the greatness of his nature.†

The final object of the Gospel, the proclamation of the complete greatness and glory of Jesus, as well as the introduction of a more exalted Christology which should burst the bonds of

* Comp. ii. 23, iv. 45, x. 32, xii. 37, and particularly xi. 2. Godet also acknowledges this fragmentary character. Prüfung der Streitfragen über das 4 Ev. Deutsch von Wirz. 1866, p. 4. Also Ewald and Weizsäcker.

† We may point to the introductory saying, i. 52, ii. 11, which takes the place of proofs in detail.

the law and of exclusiveness, has already been deduced from the book by the earliest fathers, among whom we may name Irenæus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Jerome, even if the express declaration at the end received little attention.* But among the chief and subordinate aims as for example they appear to Ewald, some men have chosen to speak of the purpose of perfecting the work of our earlier Gospels. Clement, together with the author of the Fragment of Muratori, has given a complete account of the origin of the spiritual (pneumatic) Gospel compared to those which are sensuous and material (somatic), and Eusebius has expressly and positively treated of his amendment of the synoptical Gospels, not only on dogmatic but also on historical points, since in the former the account of the first year of teaching by Jesus was wanting.† He has had many followers, and while modern criticism, especially in the persons of Credner, Bleek and Lücke, has abandoned this purpose of completion, Ewald, Weizsäcker and Godet have of late energetically fallen back upon it.‡ In the intelligible and indisputable sense, that the writer sought to supply a need which he found unsatisfied by the means provided in the other Gospels, the purpose of completion can be readily admitted: but as soon as we go further, and seeking to deduce from a few marked variations from the synoptical Gospels, a general attempt to correct the historical facts of his predecessors, we go astray, not only in those passages which do not demand this motive, but we offend against the whole spirit of the book, which has taken no account of trifles, but in a bold and free course, has displayed the most important variations from the three, without a trace of comparison, accu-

* Comp. Iren. hær. 3, 11, 1: volens auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem. Jerome, especially in Praem. Matt: coactus est de divinitate salvatoris alteris scribere. Comp. Credner. Einl. p. 237.

† Clem. ap. Eus. vi. 14. For his followers, comp. in Credner, Einl. 448.

‡ Ewald, p. 6. Weizsäcker, Untersuchungen über die ev. Geschichte, 1864, 270. Godet, 8, 23. Also Hengstenberg. Das Ev. des h. Johannes, 1, 1861, has spoken of Paralipomena.

sation or excuse. This author is in truth much greater than he is esteemed to be: he seeks to subdue minds, not by the accuracy of external history, but by its spirit: the externals, the details, (as Weizsäcker also sees), are in his eyes, only means, signs, scenery and scaffolding, the material foundation, upon which the spiritual building is erected of the world of ideas which alone can satisfy our religious aspirations.*

The concluding question is legitimate and useful for the complete acknowledgment of the object of this book: for whom did this evangelist write? This question receives some answer from his own declaration: "This is written that ye might believe, and that believing, ye might have life in his name." Those whom he addresses are simply the Christian Church, by no means Jews, nor Gentiles (as Hilgenfeld thinks) who were now to be converted.† The expression might indeed allow it: but in the first place the Gospels were, as Luke shows, chiefly written for Christians, and besides it is evident that the author at once assumes acquaintance with the life of Jesus, and that he is especially concerned about the diffusion of a higher estimate of Jesus, and here and there about the belief in some striking tokens of his divinity which were hitherto unknown.‡ We may add to this, that the first Epistle of John, which advocates the same ideas in another, that is to say, in a polemic form, is throughout addressed to Christians. We may say simply that after the elementary Gospels, this is the full Gospel of the perfect.§ This is correct, amid the incorrect assumptions of the Fathers, and recently of Ewald, who is of opinion that John wrote especially for the faithful, limited circle of the

* Thus, iii. 24, there is no fault found with the synoptic Gospels, but only a justification of the introduction of John: ii. 11, iv. 54, is however simply an ingenious account without any reference to the synoptic Gospels.

† Hilgenfeld, Die Evangelien, 1854, p. 249: address to the intellectual culture of the Gentile world.

‡ Comp. xi. 2, xix. 35.

§ Clem. ap. Eus. vi. 14: *πνευματικόν*. Murat. Frag. in Credner. Gesch. des N. T. Canon, ed. Volkmar, 1860, p. 154: ut recognoscentibus *cunctis* Johannes suo nomine *cuncta* describunt.

Ephesian presbyters. It is more likely that the evangelist wrote for the Christian Church which had developed at the same time both from Jews and Gentiles. It has recently been supposed (by Godet among others) that his readers were for the most part Gentile Christians. In fact the mention of the Jews as Jews points to this, and also the interpretation of Jewish names and customs, the rejection of the nation, and even of the law, the solemn and repeated proclamation of the calling of the Gentiles. On the other hand, the Christ of the Gospel has sheep of two folds, and in the midst of the final rejection of the nation, the evangelist mentions that there are many which have believed: the author has also carefully preserved the connection with the Old Testament, and has even brought Christianity under the conciliatory conception of a new commandment. Thus it is the universal church, not indeed the church of Luthardt, which knows no distinctions, but the Church which fused two into one, to which he spoke, and he himself wished to aid in its fusion in a fresh way, so indeed, that he not only recognized the predominance of Gentile Christianity in the Church, but recognized it as the divine solution of the national hardness of heart.* In this view he agrees both with Luke and with Mark. And we may say generally, in his definition of salvation for all, and of freedom from the law, he fills up Luke, in the heights of his doctrine concerning Christ, and in his claim for unity and a higher law of the Church, he has chiefly followed Mark.

β. The Dogmatic Character.

No Gospel, and in a certain sense no book in the New Testament, is characterized by such rich and elaborate learning as the Gospel of John. It has, in truth, in its single touches and its network of a comprehensive view of the world, the signs of a great philosophy of religion, and it is by this that it can be better described than by any other characteristic.

* Comp. the concluding reflection, xii. 37.

God and the world are in thorough opposition to each other. He is invisible, without form or sound, the pure Spirit; the world is visible, material, flesh and blood, the source of passions: He is life and light, the world is darkness, which lieth in death. But there is a Mediator between the eternal contradictories, that is the Logos, the Word of God, which was from the beginning, which came out from God, and is himself God, the true Life, the true Light. By this Logos all in the world was made, without Him was not anything made, the light of his life enlightens men, shines in darkness, although the darkness receives it not.*

Therefore the true light was ever coming into the world, His possession by whom it was made. But the world knew not the Logos, received him not. This is the revolt of free will which has come from Satan on mankind, but has its roots in the passions, the lust of flesh and blood, and finally in the gloomy soil of the world. Only a few received him, admitted the light, and were thereby endowed with the divine nature, instead of that of the flesh. Those who were born of God did not only belong to Israel, since the revelation of the Logos is from the first universal, all men are the "possession" of the Logos ("his own"), and the children of God flow from out of the whole world to Jesus. Undoubtedly Israel, "the people," (xi. 52,) has enjoyed the clearest light: Judaism alone rightly understands the true God whom it worships, salvation is of the Jews: Moses and the prophets have told of Christ, and he who believes in Moses, must also believe in Christ. But they have not rightly believed Moses, they have perversely set all their hopes on him, believing to have life out of the Old Testament, while Moses had in fact only given the law, but not grace and

* See especially i. 1. I refrain here from a complete list of the well-known passages. Comp. the opinions of Frommann, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld and Weiss. It is unfortunate that the relation of the history to the doctrine has either been hitherto insufficiently considered, (Weiss, 1862, has done nothing towards it.) or it has been done in a one-sided way, as by Hilgenfeld. (1849.)

truth, material service, but no real sayings of God, an obsolete religion, "your law."*

Therefore the Logos has taken a third decisive step into the world which was without God and in the flesh. The Word was made flesh, and dwelling among men in a fleshly tabernacle, a God present in the glory of the only-begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth. It is not more exactly shown, how he, renouncing the fulness of his divine glory, added the human to the divine, the creature to the Creator, nothing is told of his descent, nor of the human birth, and the divine exaltation on the one side, the human abasement on the other, are in conflict at every point of his life: yet the two are ever there; the world hails the Son of God and the Son of Man in the person of Jesus. Although he has forsaken heaven and its glories, he not only retains the perfect memory of the time before Abraham and the foundation of the world, he continues to be, as he himself says, one with the Father, he is ever in heaven, diffusing rays of divine glory, making God visible to mankind; he knows all divine and human things, he knows the hearts of men, he has known all from the beginning, although the world understands him not, he has foreseen all his life and each part of his ministry, his exaltation over Judaism, the call of the Gentiles, the cross and his return to his home: he works creative miracles, makes the arms of his enemies powerless, he withdraws himself from their fury, until his hour is come, and until his own word permits the bonds and the suffering, so that indeed a fresh revelation of the glory of God is beside them, (xii. 28.) so that he does in truth owe his highest triumph to them, so that while they have begun the work, he is withdrawn from them as one who suffers with his own free-will, who rises again and from that time and evermore is exalted to be with the Father.† Together with this, there are truly human fea-

* Comp. i. 17, iv. 23, v. 37, 38, 45. viii. 17. x. 34.

† Comp. i. 18, iii. 13, x. 18, xvii. 11. And again, i. 18, iii. 13. Godet, p. 30: Is this the Christ of the Docetæ? I answer, that to some extent it is.

tures: he is an-hungred and athirst, he is weary, his soul is moved by human anguish, by trouble and by joy, he learns as a man from God in matters of knowledge and obedience, and receives power from God for his miracles and his teaching.* The characteristic dualism, as it here appears, has presented itself to the writer, from the two-fold necessity of contemplating in Christ that which is above and is below, the heavenly and the earthly, spirit and flesh, and indeed the incarnation of God in Christ and the sharply defined contrast was less apparent to him, since in the spirit of his age, and contrary to our ideas, he more completely subdued the divine Logos to the human nature, and thereby easily placed Jesus on the level of a human mind, while he contemplated with innocent pleasure the bewildering whirl of contradictions between the infinite and the finite, between freedom and the restraints of natural bonds.

The essential office of the incarnate Logos was to set forth and to give to the world in his person the glory of God.† This was given by his personal representation, since in him the world seeth the Father, and again in his teaching, since he that was sent, the counsellor and advocate of God, offers the whole truth concerning God and his messenger, and with it the consoling grace and the fulness of eternal life: this truth was given also in his acts, since divine life shone through the world by his miracles, and in his cross and resurrection the triumph of light, of life and love, the entrance of divine life into man and in a hundred ways into the people was perfected.‡ His coming concerned all mankind, and his death is the seed-corn from which the fruit of a universal church shall ripen among Jews and Gentiles. He who sees and hears, confesses and believes on him, he who keeps the new commandment of love to God and to his brother, in which obedience to the law is summed up, he has eternal life, and joy and perfect peace, he is in union with Christ for ever, through

* Comp. only v. 19. 30. † Comp. xvii. 2, 6. xiv. 9, viii. 40, 47.
‡ xviii. 18, i. 18, xiv. 16.

and beyond death to heaven. But the power of the Incarnate is limited by the darkness of the world. He calls all, but some hear, and others hate him. On the one side are the children of God, on the other the children of the world, of darkness, and of the devil, and on this side are the masses of the Jewish people. This contrast is emphatically willed by God himself, who chooses and draws some, and hardens the hearts of others: and while the world judges him, Christ has decreed to hold by his death the decisive judgment of good and evil, of the devil and of the world, to perpetuate the dark shades of the world, which are heaped together in Judaism, and by them to heighten the wrath of God.*

Therefore the departure of Jesus reveals a fourth influx of light, at once the mightiest and the most subtle into the universal darkness of revolt. This is the influx of the Spirit, the other Comforter. He comes forth from the Father, bearing fresh supplies of divine power to the otherwise bereaved disciples: yet is he sent also by the Son, who indeed poured forth the Spirit on leaving the earth, since that which is the Father's is also His own: so again it is himself who comes, because the Spirit has entered into his being and work.† The Spirit is an even higher blessing than the Son, and it is needful for the disciples that Jesus should depart, since so only the Spirit can come. His coming is unseen, but he is the more closely united with men, whom Jesus only outwardly guarded, he is with them, and in them, and yet without depriving them of themselves, and of their own consciousness.‡ He reminds them of all, teaches all, reveals the truth without a parable, teaches of the future, leaves no questions open, gives comfort, and strength to work yet greater marvels, to pray of themselves, to raise them to a level with the Son as with a friend: he mingles heaven and earth thoroughly together, sending a single stream of divine

* Comp. iii. 20, viii. 43, xi. 52, xii. 31, 39.

† Comp. xiv. 16, 26, 28, xv. 26, xvi. 4, 15, 22, xx. 22.

‡ Comp. xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvii. 12.

life through the Church and the Godhead, and causing the Father and Son in the fellowship of the Spirit to make their abode in the Church, diffusing endless and infinite joy, so that heaven itself will only continue the blessedness of earth.* This new and abiding presence of God in the world is not without illuminating and vivifying power for the world itself. The disciples will gain new believers through the Spirit, and from the contemplation of the abiding presence of Christ in the united and perfect Church, and of God in Christ; the world shall confess that God sent Jesus, and loved his Church even as his Son.† But the eternal conflict will not end. The Lord's disciples are not "out of the world," not out of the evil, and the last prayer of Jesus as the High Priest, prays not for the world. The world does not confess nor mark the Spirit, and the supreme word of the Spirit to the world speaks of delivery to a searching judgment.‡

Nothing can be plainer than that a profound philosophic conviction is infused into this last life of Jesus. We have here late and elaborate dogmatism, and Jesus has himself become the most subtle of dogmatizers. Many theologians, even up to the present day, have busied themselves to find no philosophy and to explain the perplexing word of the Logos, sometimes merely as a personification of the chief minister of the word of God, sometimes as at least only a continuation of the speculations concerning the creative word and the active wisdom of God in the Old Testament; and some in modern times, such as Luthardt and Weiss, deny with ill-grounded sophistry any dependence on the ideas of his age, and are rejoiced to hear Herr Hölemann of Leipzig assert, that the Logos of John and of the Alexandrines have nothing in common, but these are puerilities and prejudices, of which ad-

* xiv. 10, xx. 23, xvi. 23, 25, xvii. 10, xxi. 23. The friend, xv. 14-19, xxi. 27. Comp. the title, "Friend of God," in Philo, leg. all. 98. Resip. Noe. 281. Also James ii., 23. Credner, Einl. 603.

† xvii. 20.

‡ xvi. 8, xvii. 9. 14.

vancing science can take no note.* It is a matter of the highest evidence, more or less openly admitted, not merely by Bretschneider, Baur, and Baumgarten-Crusius, but also by Lücke, Bleek, Schmid, Weizsäcker and others, that the Gospel of John owes its existence to the union of the life of Jesus with the Alexandrine-philonic philosophy of religion which had fifty years before made the construction of his dogmatic teaching possible to the Apostle Paul.† And it is not only, as has been supposed until now, the conception of the Logos, but the complete universal intuition, which seems to be confirmed by the system of Philo, more closely examined in the life of Jesus.‡ In the one as in the other, there is the abstract idea of God, God as a pure Spirit, invisible, without form or body, higher than the supreme name, not merely to be called light, but existing as the One who works. The intermediate nature of the Logos, the word and reason, the first-born and only-begotten, the image of God, the beginning, the means by which the world was made, he that was sent and invested with power, the interpreter and fulfilment of divine types, the judge, the prince, the shepherd, the dispenser of food, the intercessor, the high priest, the comforter. He it is, who infuses the divine seed into the darkness and wild turmoil of the material world; man is his most glorious work, to whose immortal and indeed pre-existent spirit, (compare ix. i.) he gives light, while indeed the perfect type, the immaterial man is only in heaven, and the earthly man is led captive by the sensuality

* Luthardt, i. 201, gives his reason very frankly, since he appeals to Carpzov: (against Maugey, 1749:) Scripsisset Johannes ita omnino, si vel nullus etiam Plato aut Philo nullus unquam aliquid de λόγῳ exposuissent, &c. Nor has the question any further interest for Weiss, p. 251, and he appeals to the defence of Philo in Hölemann de ev. Joannis introitu. 1855.

† Weizsäcker, p. 242, cautiously: it is unnecessary to enquire further into the historical connection between these ideas and the pre-Christian philosophy.

‡ Comp. in the subsequent historical account the system of Philo and the literature respecting him, but we may first notice the sketch of his conception of the Logos, as it is given for example by De Wette. Bibl. Dog. p. 128. Traces of this admission in Maugey. Phil. opp. 1742, and Ballenstedt, Philo und Johannes, 1802.

of the flesh in lust and sin and death. Man can however withdraw himself from the sensuous world, from which he is freed by death: he can have the Spirit abiding in him, yet only with the help of God, who draws his own to him, and has chosen them out even before their birth. They are then taught of God, their spirits are the temple of God, they are kings and free, the children of God, and do not even need the leading of the Logos, beside whom they walk. Gentiles and Jews rejoice in this Logos, and become the children and friends of God. The wise men of the Gentiles have not indeed seen God as clearly as Moses and the Jews, who did not behold the image of God, but the Highest himself under the material forms which are needful for bodily eyes, but he was spiritually discerned and worshipped by the wise.

Who, in spite of the echoes of other teaching which freely press in, will deny the independent position of the Christian writer, who in the person of the living Christ, and of the living spirit of the Christian Church, first glanced at the abstract ideas of Philo, adding them to those of Moses in the sacred history, and gave them life and reality, overcoming up to a certain point the harsh contradictions of rigid dualism. The Logos, which had at one time been a mediating being which faded in the attempt to represent it, the heavenly man, and which at another was only a heavenly ideal, has now become an incarnate person. This Logos, which had in the one case ever retreated before any contact with "bodily necessities," can here in the outset allow no existence in the world without himself, has boldly taken flesh upon him, shining, working and suffering in it: with him, those that believe on him have overcome the fear of the sensuous world, not flying from the things of earth nor seeking death, only keeping before them the spiritual world, and keeping the joyful feast of perfect union with the Godhead which has called them to be children in truth and not merely in a merciful likeness.* It was Christianity which

* First of the highest God: τὸ πρὸς θεὸν ζωῆς γένος οὐ κατέβη πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ

filled old forms with a fresh spirit, and it was Christianity which burst through those forms, while allowing them to stand, or building them anew. We have now to consider how necessary it is in our time to lay aside these old forms, even of this Christ, and first of all to surmise that the Christ who was taught and was to be taught in these forms, was not the whole, faithful expression of the Jesus of history.

γ. *The Form.*

The main division of this Gospel was discerned as early as the days of Eichhorn. It is plainly at the close of the twelfth chapter, where Jesus breaks off his testimony against Jerusalem, and the evangelist reveals, with a solemn glance at the past, the reasons for the Jewish unbelief, which stood prepared for the death of the Holy One. The thirteenth chapter introduces with some solemnity the last hours of Jesus with the light of his love in the last supper: the old division is retained, but the period of the passion is postponed: in Matthew and Mark it begins at Cæsarea, in Luke it begins a little later with the journey to death, in John, with the evening before the passover. The points of view which appear in the two parts are also in evident agreement with the earlier evangelists, only they appear, as being more adapted to the fundamental thoughts of the writer, in greater and sharper relief before the reader: the glory of Jesus Christ is described, as it appeared in his conflict with darkness, increasing continually both in his life and his death. The sub-divisions, about which there is greater difference of opinion, and concerning which Baur has written that which is the most plausible, if not the most accurate, are altogether the degrees and steps of a history in which is development, progress, the drama of a growing mani-

ἠλθεν εἰς τὰς σώματος ἀνάγκας. (q. rer. div. haer. p. 487.) Of the Logos: ὁ ὑπεράνω παντὼν λόγος εἰς ὁρατὴν οὐχ ἠλθὲν ἰδεὰν, ἅτε μηδενὶ τῶν κατ' αἰσθησιν ἐμφερὴς ὼν. (D. profug. 465.) The conception of the fatherhood of God may be reckoned among that which is anthropomorphic and anthropopathic. q. Deus sit. immut. 301.

festation of glory, together with growing effects and consequences, and a growing bitterness of the powers of darkness.* In accordance with the preface containing his philosophy of religion, the first part of the first act shows how John proclaimed the Son of God a prophet who himself decreases as the moon before the sun, and gives the whole view of future belief and unbelief, (chaps. i.—iii.) The second act shows his increasing activity, particularly outside Jerusalem, but also the increasing tumult in Jerusalem which arose against the Son of God after the healing of the paralytic man, and indeed in Galilee, which desired an earthly Messiah, and understood not the Messiah of the passover. The third and last act gives the completion of the testimony and controversies in Judea and Jerusalem, to which Jesus is ever turning with significant intimations as to his hour and his last passover. His testimony rises higher and higher, even to the declaration of his existence before Abraham, his perfect oneness with God, his miracles, even to his recal from the dead of one in whom decay had begun, his attack upon the Jews, even to the reproach that they are children of the devil, while they on the other hand call him the child of the devil, and raise impious hands against him, (ch. vii.—xii.) This leads to the second main division, of which the three acts are easily distinguished; first, the farewell sayings (ch. xiii.—xviii.), then the actual catastrophe (ch. xviii. xix.) and finally the splendour of the resurrection, (ch. xx.) We may here pass over the lesser and most minute articulations of the delicate organism; although it is worth while to notice that the threefold classification which underlies the whole plan, is not only rooted in the Hebrew manner of contemplation, but undoubtedly resting on the absolute ground of the Divine mystery of the

* Formerly a division was made by the feasts and journies, and the last has been repeated by Ewald, although he has himself declared that such external divisions by days and feasts are not satisfactory in themselves (p. 15) and must occasionally leave "gaps." The more profound and essential classification has, especially in Baur's case, considered that vii. 1 was the critical point, but have on the other hand taken chaps. iii.-vi. together, and have overlooked the critical point, iii. 27, iv. 1.

Trinity, and is diffused with artistic skill, and indeed mysteriously, into the most minute and delicate veins of the book. Jesus is three times in Galilee, three times in Judea, twice three feasts fall into the time of his ministry, notably three passover feasts, in the beginning, the middle, and the end, which prophesy or procure his death. He works three miracles in Galilee, three in Jerusalem.* For twice three days he is moving in the neighbourhood of John, three days are occupied by the history of Lazarus, six by the passover of his death: he uttered three sayings on the cross, and appeared thrice after his resurrection.

The style of the book is a remarkable combination of an essentially Greek facility and skill with a Hebrew form of expression in its complete simplicity, child-likeness, picturesqueness, and in some sense guilelessness: after this fashion the union of the conflicting parties is embodied in its language.† The composition shows an artist who gives nature, even where all is design. There is nothing ornate, no overflow of rhetoric, as in Mark. All is simple, with a life-like movement and easy sequence of events, but the polish is betrayed by the careful alternation and advance, by the slight and fugitive touches, from which a thoughtful reader sees the growth of a whole picture, as in the rich description of a landscape in the scene of the conversation between Jesus and the Samaritan woman, or again in Bethany, where the reader has no need of a painter, nor the painter of his invention. To this picturesque grouping must be added a profound sphere of thought, which is in accordance with the former, since it is willingly expressed by images and becomes familiar and intelligible to the hearer by reticent brevity, while he is again strangely stirred and excited by the contradiction between the thought and its perception. There are mysteries lurking everywhere of the most mysterious person,

* Galilean: the miracle at Cana, the ruler, the feeding (the history on the lake merely an addition). Jerusalem: the paralytic, the man born blind, Lazarus. It is remarkable that this regular division is not observed. Credner indeed, p. 241, speaks of five histories of miracles.

† Comp. Godet, pp. 20-22: the garment Greek, the body Hebrew.

of the most mysterious adverse powers: obscure sayings, obscure acts, only explained by their results: the acts are themselves transparent images of thought, as Herder formerly remarked, only fluttering signs and symbols of which the literal sense might remain doubtful, as in the symbolism, both religious and historical, in his conversation with the Samaritan woman, if the writer did not himself assert the literal accuracy: even that which appears to be accidental and involuntary is full of meaning, of spirit, and signs, the day or series of days, the series of feasts, of journies and of miracles.* There is also the reverse of the mysterious: the Jews, the Samaritans and the disciples who do not understand the Lord: at one time speaking as ridiculously as uncultured men do speak, at another misunderstanding his meaning with the fatal absurdity with which we seldom misunderstand each other, and sometimes through the misunderstanding they become involuntarily true prophets of the truth, and thus, as in a magic circle, they heighten the mysterious impression, becoming themselves a mystery.† Finally: as to the tone of mind in which the Gospel is written. In one place we have rest and harmony, as in the descriptions, peace, joy and blessedness, as they are sought by Christ: and again the struggle is not wanting, heat and poverty, trouble, zeal, wrath and irony: the struggle is part of the life of Christ, in which we find himself, and in the end, at the last supper, at the cross and resurrection, there is again peace, of triumph and of glory.

This is the charm in the form of this Gospel, which perfects the victory contained in it, of the superhuman and yet human person of Jesus, the deliverance from sin and death and the world, from the law and the nation, from heaven and

* The meeting with the Samaritan woman, has, for whoever has intelligence, a purely symbolical meaning, which is inconsistent with a historical fact. The five husbands of the Samaritan woman are the five religions, which the Samaritan settlers brought out of Asia. The sixth is the Afterjehova, whom they worshipped at that time. All according to 2 Kings xvii. 24. Joseph. Ant. 9, 14, 3: Meyer sees nothing when he asks, "Where then is the sixth?"

† Comp. only vii. 35, 42, xi. 48, 50.

earth. It is worth while to compare the able description in Strauss.* Yet all is within bounds. We need not say that the dark sayings are often exaggerated, and the conflicting views cannot be reconciled, and there is also a characteristic touch of leaden monotony of which the displeasing impression is concealed beneath much that is favourable, yet it cannot be disputed and has recently been admitted by Weizsäcker among others. But the fault, as with the dark sayings, is in the thing itself. Christ, who was perfect from the beginning, all-knowing, all-mighty, and all-daring, whose marvellous power is of itself the most constant and effectual testimony, and the confirmation of the mortal enmity of the world of darkness, he who finds, not merely in the evangelist, but in John his forerunner, the constant echo of all his words, he is, according to his conception in history, and by the pen of this most able writer, the immoveable, constant and monotonous figure, which is laboriously preserved through all changes from the beginning to the end by means of artistic heightening of all kinds, through his call, his conflicts, and every change of scene until the end in Jerusalem.

γ. *The Sources.*

The inquiry into the historical character of this material and of its form presses yet more urgently upon us: but before we judge, or perhaps condemn, let us see whether the author has based his special utterances on any sources, and what they are.

If Lücke formerly thought it very doubtful that John made use of the synoptic Gospels, Bleek and De Wette have been inclined to reverse the connection, at least as far as Luke and Mark are concerned, and to believe that they were derived from John, yet of late (justified, as we may say, by the earliest testimony,) nearly every one (Baur, Hilgenfeld, Ewald, Godet, Hengstenberg, Luthardt and Weizsäcker) agrees that the synoptic Gospels were at his command, and indeed served as his foundation.† It is a proof of this, that he only aims at adding

* p. 142.

† Lücke. Comm. über das Ev. des Johannes 1840. I, 197: that he has made

a last word to the Gospels which were already read in the Church, and again that he retains the general classification of the earlier Gospels, (Galilee, Jerusalem, the ministry, the passion, and, in a certain sense, a passion beginning in Galilee,) as well as a great number of short, incisive sayings, which do not appear to be much enlarged, besides many stories, and the larger number of miracles, adding in particular passages, especially in the saying about John's imprisonment, (iii. 24,) the careful comparison with the tradition as it then existed, and as it is to be found in our synoptic Gospels.*

We are particularly reminded of Matthew in many sayings, enumerated by Baur, in the honourable distinction of Peter, the peaceful animal on which he rode, the sword-scene in Gethsemane, Mary at the grave, the ruler's son, and others besides. Much is derived from the later Gospels, especially from Luke. Thus, the anointing by Mary, the service of Martha, the smiting off the right ear with a sword at Gethsemane, the meetings with Peter in the hall, the three sayings of the cross, the new grave, the two angels and Peter at the grave, the prints of the nails, the touching, the imparting of the Spirit, (instead of merely the promise of it,) the ascension, at least predicted.† So again the preference given to the work in Samaria, with a view to the later Samaritan Church, as it is found in the Acts of the Apostles, and, finally and chiefly, the mysteriousness of the life of Jesus, his miraculous discernment, his miraculous disappearance, his temptation by the devil in his passion, and the entering of the devil into Judas, one of the twelve. The references to Mark are to be found in the 200 pennyworth at the miracle of the loaves, in the walking of Jesus on the sea, the

use of the synoptic authors is very problematical. On the other hand, Weizsäcker, p. 270: the synoptic account served as the foundation on which the characteristic form of the fourth Gospel is based. Godet, p. 94.

* Comp. Hilgenfeld, Evangelien, 325.

† The three sayings of the cross are not generally found at Luke xxiii. 38, but they are strongly attested by Sin., and can hardly have been inserted from John, who has inaccurately reversed the sequence of events. (xix. 20.) Ascension, vi. 62.

description of the ointment of spikenard as being of the value of 300 pence; and, generally, in the "new" doctrine, the equality of Jews and Gentiles, the subjection to a higher law, and notably again the growing mysteriousness of the person of Jesus, and the way in which he was misunderstood by men, even by the disciples, the delay about his miracles, the manipulation which they required, the amount that was unintelligible, the indifference about food, the heroism, the withdrawal of himself.* That the dependence in these points of likeness rests with the fourth Gospel and is not to be reversed, is throughout apparent from the amplifying touches added by it: thus, the young man mentioned by Luke, who smote with the sword, has become Peter, the man who was smitten Malchus, the disciple who took account of the loaves in Mark is Philip, and at the supper at Bethany it is Judas,—names which would certainly not have been withheld by Mark and Luke, if they had been at their command. Nor is it to be believed that Luke would not have noticed the manner of the devil's entrance into Judas, if the exhaustive account in the fourth Gospel had been at hand.

However accurate this conclusion may be, the use made of the synoptic Gospels has occasionally been very free. While the author has sought to retain the same points of contact and their tone of feeling, he has at the same time not avoided a hundred deviations both in general and in detail, which are excused by their freshness and general consistency. In the first place he has made a very free use of the sayings of Jesus; in the other Gospels also their connection was to some extent varied. The saying against the love of life appears in Jerusalem, together with the homage of the Greeks, the saying of the servant in connection with the master's washing of their feet, the foretelling of persecutions in his words of final farewell. The saying about the prophet in his own country is only

* Comp. also Strauss, p. 135.

casually mentioned, the doubt which arose at the same time as to the man being without learning is assigned to the temple at Jerusalem.* But the history also is placed in a different order: the purifying of the temple, the saying about its destruction, the naming of Peter,—all come at the beginning instead of at the end; the man which had the palsy is in Jerusalem, the agony of Jesus in the town, not at Gethsemane, the sayings about the last supper are at Galilee, instead of in the last days in Jerusalem. We can also observe an inward transformation in many ways. The addition of names which are wanting elsewhere, is the most decided, in one place Andrew and Philip, in another Peter and John, in another Judas, Martha and Mary, and Malchus. Then again the description, at once intensified and more careful, of the double controversies, because the disputes about the Sabbath which are to be found in his predecessors, are coupled with the great miracles of healing the paralytic man and the man who was born blind. But how much more artificial, and even legendary and displeasing, the stories of the ruler, the centurion, the paralytic man, and the walking on the sea have become,—the last ending not merely with the calming of the waters, but with the mythical and sudden arrival at the shore.† In some instances again we find that an allusion in the earlier Gospels has become a graphic and long history. These earlier Gospels apply the words of the prophet to the Baptist:—the voice of one crying in the wilderness. This is now his own assertion: Luke causes him to disclaim the Messiahship, and this now becomes a point at issue between him and the Sanhedrim. Luke, favourable to the Gentiles, relates, in opposition to the preceding record, a final journey through Samaria, with a few slight traces of believing Samaritans: the fourth Gospel knows of a mission to Samaria at the very beginning, of the gaining of the chief city, and a further prospect of success throughout the land. Luke gives

* xii. 25, xiii. 16, xv. 20, xvi. 1, iv. 44, vii. 15.

† iv. 47 (comp. Matt. viii. 5), v. 1 (Matt. ix. 1), vi. 16 (Matt. xiv. 22).

the saying of Jesus on the last holy evening, concerning his serving the disciples who are lying at supper, and the story of his washing their feet follows from this.* Luke, again, gives the parable of the poor man Lazarus, who attains after his death to life and glory, ending with the unbelief of Israel, which would not be overcome by the plainest appearance of one risen from the dead: the fourth Gospel knows of a resurrection of Lazarus, the last and greatest miracle, which instead of breaking down the national unbelief, only brings it to an issue.†

There is neither sufficient certainty about other Christian sources, nor can they be pointed out in any comprehensive way. It is most probable that there was an acquaintance with the Gospel of the Hebrews. In proof of this it is hardly necessary to appeal to the story of the adulteress (viii. 8, &c.) which, as it appears, is a later insertion into the Gospel, and has some connection with the story of a sinful woman which Papias relates, and which Eusebius ascribed to the Gospel of the Hebrews.‡ But the saying about the necessity of being born again from above, which is contained in the conversation with Nicodemus, clearly shows such an original form, that as it is not in our earlier Gospels, it was very probably taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews, from which a quotation about the new birth is preserved by Justin and by the Clementine homilies.§ No stress need be laid on the occasional resemblance to the later Ebionite Gospel.‖ Credner has already remarked on the manifold resemblance of the fundamental conceptions in John, with the sermon of Peter as it originated at the beginning of the second century: other similar expressions in the epistle to the Hebrews, the first epistle of Peter, and most of all in the Epistle of Bar-

* Comp. Luke xxii. 24.

† Luke xvi. 19, and John xi. 1.

‡ Eus. 3, 39.

§ Just. ap. i. 24. Clem. Hom. xi. 26.

‖ I mean the reference of Jesus to the election of the twelve apostles, vi. 70. xv. 16, 19, comp. with the Ebionite Gospel: *αὐτὸς ἐξελέξατω ἡμᾶς.—ἐξελεξάμην Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον.* But also Luke vi. 13. Ker. Petr. ap. Cl. Strom. 6. 6, 48.

nabas, can be easily noted.* The question only remains open as to which of the two depended on the other, and on this point we do not doubt that the literary fragment which came nearest to it, the Epistle of Barnabas, is to be counted among the witnesses to the existence of the Gospel, to whom Justin Martyr also belongs, although he has of late been considered by Volkmar as a writer who prepared the way for John.

The search for sources finally leaves us at a loss to explain the startling novelties and rash variations of the Gospel. Can the living stream of oral tradition, or the eye-witness of the author himself justify or excuse him, or must we not pause in many points at the belief that he has freely modified and composed his history on the foundation of the religious and philosophic ideas which he wished to serve by his personal testimony. It is the frank enquiry as to the historical value which we ought not, after so many tormenting difficulties, to parry any longer: we can set aside the question as to the eye-witness with greater assurance, since it is not seriously affirmed in the Gospel, and will be decided by the historical estimate of the book itself.

ε. *Historical Value.*

Among the false blandishments which an untrue theology is accustomed to use with diligence and success, we find the easy assertion that Baur's doubts about the fourth Gospel are obsolete, and we now hear this from many professors of German universities, and we see it accepted as golden truth in the circles which are wonderfully nourished by belief in words and men. All is in fact the very reverse of that which the illusion supposes, and Baur has chiefly failed by not sufficiently proving the unhistorical character of this Gospel, since he speaks more of the fundamental ideas than of the facts of the history.

* Comp. 1 Peter i. 23: then the theory of the incarnation in the epistles to the Hebrews and of Barnabas: comp. on this subject infra. As to the κερύγμα of Peter, comp. Clem. Strom. 1. 29, 181. 6, 5. 39-41, 6. 6, 48, 6. 15, 128. Fragm. 58. Credner, Beiträge, 1. 351. Comp. 1. 29 and Fragm. 58. Χριστὸς νόμος καὶ λόγος. 5, 39: τὰ Ελλήνων καὶ Ιουδαιων παλαιά.

The question as to the historical value divides into three main points:—the Gospel as it stands; next, in comparison with Paul; and, finally, with the synoptic Gospels.

We cannot pass over the enquiry whether the Gospel acknowledges its historical purpose, or not. More modern research has shown that the means are historical, but not the aim, and that pure history is probably obscured by this unhistorical aim. Therefore it must first be shown that the book is really unhistorical. On the other hand, we come from another point, already mentioned and nearly connected at the outset with the object of enquiry, to the assumption that the book is, at least in part, unhistorical. The Gospel of selection is a one-sided Gospel. Since it altogether omits many parts of the life of Jesus, and treats of another part with an almost exclusive tenacity, it gives in any case a one-sided picture of the life of Jesus, in which there is only half the truth. This is also frankly admitted by Weizsäcker, while Ewald's satisfaction in the favourable and reassuring silence of John as to the synoptic Gospels cannot be accepted. For the Gospel, self-contained as it is, makes an impression as a whole which would not admit of amplifications. To interpolate foreign material would be too difficult even for the most laborious and keen-sighted art of our day. To introduce the material, and yet more, the spirit of the sayings and acts of Jesus from the other Gospels, would be a phantom, an unnatural compound of contradictions. A Gospel which not only dispenses with a long series of correct traditions, but carefully excludes them, is in the highest degree a one-sided Gospel.

But we must look at it more closely. The book is not only very one-sided, but it is in the highest degree subjective, that is, arbitrary in its history. The most favourable readers have already asked themselves how the writer could have retained in his memory these long and even interminable utterances of Jesus, which are often without those resting-points of the historical situation, the pearls of the parables, and all conception of a

strict argumentative progress. And after every appeal to the spiritual intuition of the mind and thoughts of Jesus, Lücke, Luthardt, Ewald, and Weizsäcker must admit the subjective freedom of the author in these long-drawn compositions. We see, as it has already been observed by Bretschneider, that this freedom is confirmed, both in the form and in the contents, by the complete agreement of the words and statements spoken by the evangelist himself, (compare i. 1-18) as well as by the author of the epistle, with the utterances which are ascribed to Jesus, and the impression that it is not Jesus himself, but the writer who speaks, gains upon us the more, because in some places the words of Jesus are obscurely mingled with the words of the evangelist, in others again the evangelist's reflections fall into the words of Jesus.* It may be said, that the writer has so merged himself in the expressions of Jesus that he has at last spoken one language with him: but who is to distinguish between them, especially when the author is ingenious and bold enough to be himself a person and not a shadow. But, finally, when not only the author, not only the self-reliant prophet, the Baptist, but also the man who was born blind speaks with the language and the irony of Jesus, is it more credible that Jesus should have spoken in John and in the blind man, or that the evangelist used one speech for himself and for Jesus, for John as well as for the blind man—his speech and sphere of thought as an author?† The artificial mysticism of the threefold form in which not only a few lesser scenes, but the whole life of Jesus is throughout woven, are another sign of the author's subjective freedom. Who is daring enough to believe that the history of Jesus was by his ordinance or foresight split off into these exact, clear-cut, ornate, and in fact purely mechanical frames, as in the carefully planned and considered sheets of books or drawings? Who is responsible for the six feasts, the three passovers, for Galilee and Jerusalem with

* Comp. for the first, iii. 16; for the second, xii. 37, 44.

† Comp. especially iii. 27-36. Also ix. 27, 30, 33.

their threefold journies and miracles? It is the author, who has so smoothly polished the history of Jesus, in order that it might be called an ingenious work of art, rather than the most solemn act of history. And who cannot see that the writer has not arranged the history in accordance with its strict reality, but at his desk and in accordance with the fair order of his pages, when Jesus at various times, in various places, in the presence of various men, falls back on former assertions concerning himself or his adversaries, in a manner which was only intelligible to the reader of the foregoing chapters, but not to his hearers?*

The subjective freedom of the writer has thus far appeared as freedom extended even to the pith of the narrated histories and sayings. But it is also shown more exactly by the nature of his consciousness as a writer, and the effect of this nature on the history of Jesus, and this makes it quite possible to establish the gravest doubts about the historical value of the most important of the sayings and acts of Jesus. The author has not in the very beginning kept silence concerning the sphere of thought which he with earnest conviction, and indeed with energetic pathos, brought with him. It is noteworthy, that before he comes to that history of Jesus he gives a philosophic view of the universe, the view of the theology of Philo, which has adopted Christianity as the beginning and end of the ways of God.† Whoever sees a historian begin with his philosophy, may with good reason feel convinced, that he has before him a writer whose starting-point and deepest sympathies consist in philosophic studies, whose study of history is a philosophy of history, and who, in imparting it, may adapt that which actually happened, not always faithfully, to suit the points of view of his exalted contemplation of the universe. What

* Comp. vii. 19, xiii. 33.

† i. 11-18. Langen, Judenth. in Pales. z. Zeit Christi. 1866, p. 279, and also Riggenbach, d. Zeugniss f. Joh. Progr. 1866, 19, observe nothing of the philosophy. Yet the Catholic admits that the conception of the Logos had its origin in Alexandria.

must always occur to us with respect to such a historian, must in this case be confirmed, or can at least only be denied by an abyss of un-reason. He begins with the origin of the world, and the entrance into the world, with the Logos who was before the world, the mediator between it and God, between light and darkness, and the writer takes his starting-point from his entrance into the world of darkness, down from the creation, through universal and sacred history. He finds the work of the Logos in the souls of men, even of the Gentiles, he finds him in the religion of Israel, he specially recognizes him in the person of Jesus and the fellowship of the Christian Church, and at the same time the conflict with darkness, which has at one point been pierced by the Logos, at another called forth: he has accepted it as his vocation to represent from this exalted watch-tower the life of Jesus, as the illuminating and awakening entrance of light into darkness, and at the same time of all the spiritual enemies of the world of wickedness.

It must be said that the writer has carried out these ideas in his life of Jesus with mathematical exactness. This striking relation between the Ideal and the Real is for evident reasons inconvenient; but the most energetic and unprejudiced search after a definition at any price, after a real history, which does not rely upon ideas, is in a high degree rewarded by the perception that the writer speaks in his preface of a Logos, but that Jesus never uses the word; evidently because the writer had tact enough not to force the technical word of his philosophy upon the history, but only gently to intimate that it is there. In fact, the material part of this history is to be explained from the philosophy. It is now intelligible how this Christ, since he is the Logos, beams with purely divine majesty, and again and again voluntarily speaks of his existence before the worlds and his equality with God, as well as of his subjection to God: how he knows all from the beginning, foretells all, can do all things, how he was born, baptized,

wrestled and suffered, not as the Logos of Philo, which disdained "earthly necessities;" how he stood far above Moses, and John, the country and the nation: he was the one man in the capital city, and in the world, the manifestation of God in the world, not for a day nor for a year, especially since his childhood and youth are wanting, but for three years a person of mighty works, and everlasting as the Spirit: finally, he has declared on the one hand that he was accompanied by the belief, which with the first glance of light called him by the mouth of Andrew and Peter, "Christ the Son of God;" and on the other by the want of understanding and by the unbelief, which set forth the eternal darkness of the world by foolishness in word and wickedness in act, and the revolt of the whole people which led to the crucifixion.

It may be thought possible that the author found this actual and historical appearance in the person of Jesus, which corresponded wholly with his Idea, and not only in part, and that this Idea was conscientiously endowed with every particular of his historical being. But is the identity of the Ideal and the Real ever probable? Is not the development of the facts out of the Idea at least equally possible? Is it not consistent with the notorious freedom of the writer? And indeed, before adducing historical proofs, the fact that the real history was idealized, can be shown from the book itself. Of this there can be no doubt: this image of Christ only corresponds to the requirements of a human being in the narrowest sense; it belies our own view of human nature, of its restrictions as a created thing, of its slow growth, its need of teaching, and its struggles, and it allies in an inconceivable manner the majesty of God and the limits of man: who can harmonize these facts, of one who wanders from place to place, and is weary, and can at the same time vanish, or move the world: of one who at the same time is really an-hungered and a-thirst, and can create food and drink out of nothing, of one for whom men lie in wait, and yet who dies

only by his own will (a new form of self-chosen death), and who again can rise again by his own will from death. And if the matter is to be further considered, this is undoubted: he could not have spoken and acted as he did, in inexplicable riddles, which involved a contradiction, to the destruction of religious faith, unless the foundation had been carefully considered, which was to heal unbelief, and to reverse the natural order of things, and the relations of the world and of man. And again, neither the disciples, who had distinctly believed in him from the first, nor Nicodemus could have answered with such want of discernment, nor yet the people have answered so foolishly, however shallow their ideas may have been. It was not the actual history, but the conception, the abstract idea, the Logos on the one side, the darkness of the world on the other, which led to such conversations. We must also observe, that the actual history occasionally asserts itself in the book, repelling with harsh rigour the over-mastering Idea to which it is in this case inapplicable.* This Christ knows from the beginning what is in man, and yet has chosen Judas, who betrays him, for his apostle. He knows of himself of the death of Lazarus, and yet has, on the other hand, heard of his sickness through messengers.† He is exalted above every attack, and yet is persecuted, imprisoned, bound and slain. Is all this to be explained from the knowledge and will of Jesus? Or has he declared, continued and closed his career in Jerusalem, so that Galilee first learns to believe from Jerusalem, and yet he is called the prophet of Galilee?‡

But the objections which the earlier records of the life of Jesus, in Paul and the three evangelists, offer to the historical character of this book are far more important. If we abide by Paul, we

* It is easy to see how readily those particulars of the life of Jesus which reveal his dependence and suffering are altered or omitted; his birth, his education, his baptism, his inward conflicts, the choice of the traitor, Gethsemane, Golgotha.

† Comp. vi. 70, xi. 3, 4, 11.

‡ vii. 52. That he issued from Galilee is also admitted, iv. 44: for his "own country" cannot mean Judea; rather Jesus obtains entrance into his country Galilee after he has been recognized in Jerusalem.

cannot fail to see that the writer is essentially connected with the Pauline ideas, giving a further development of them which is beyond the province of history. With Paul also the person of Jesus stands as the centre point (only not with this suppression of the real benefits of the kingdom of God), with him also the person of Jesus, in accordance with the speculations of Philo, in which both Paul and John took part, was in existence before the worlds, and with him again the law is abolished, the law of Christ, the rule of love, and the era of the Spirit inserted in its place, and the Gentiles are called. Many of these statements are more forcibly, and indeed harshly asserted by John, than even by Paul, as well in his Christology, as in the opposition to the law, which Paul in his reverence would never call the Jewish law, *your* law.* It is worth while to observe, that the Jesus of John goes beyond Paul in the stern logic which found in its revolutionary tendency so little support in the community of the immediate disciples of Jesus. But further: we are not concerned with what Paul taught of himself, but with what he taught of Jesus. Paul knew nothing of Jesus having declared his existence before the worlds, still less that he while on earth abolished the law, and called the Gentiles as well as the Jews. Had he known all this, he would have declared it, and not the exact opposite, he would have had peace instead of war with the church of Jerusalem, and that church would have said Yea and Amen to the Pauline abolition of the law, and of the national limits. The fundamental thoughts of the teaching of Jesus in John are unhistorical, since they make the history, the great and earnest controversies of the apostolic age, into a phantom, a dream and a folly. On another main point Paul contradicts the portrait of Christ in John. According to the word of Jesus himself, to which he appeals, Paul places the

* viii. 17, x. 34, xv. 25. Comp. v. 39, viii. 54, 56. Paul says simply, ὁ *νόμος*, never ὁ *νόμος Ἰουδαίων*. Comp. also my Gesehtl. Christus. p. 14. Those who will to smooth over difficulties will never succeed in removing these objections, at any rate by asserting that the opposition to the O. T. is only an *appearance*. It is not necessary to speak of Riggenbach's somewhat shallow justification of the expressions in John. (Zeugniss f. Johannes, p. 14.)

kingdom of God essentially in the future, even if it shines upon the present, he sighs after the returning Lord, whom he, with all the church on earth, may live to see: the Christ of John preaches of the divine fulness of the blessed present, which takes no thought of time, because it is above all time; he preaches that if the future is for ever and ever, it has come in full earnest, when instead of the returning Christ, the Spirit has appeared, and instead of the kingdom upon earth, the true kingdom of heaven, a future in the stars.* Paul also corrects the fourth Gospel on one important matter of detail. John is wholly silent as to the institution of the last supper, and Paul on the other hand, sensible of the importance of the whole transaction, has given the most exact account of it. And, which is equally significant, he has described the Lord's supper in the essential forms of the Passover meal, clearly showing by this, that its solemn institution fell on the day of the Jewish passover, which was held on the 14th, and only on the 14th Nisan. By this information he not only proves the inaccuracy of the account in the fourth Gospel, which found room for all in the last evening, except for this sacred act of Jesus, but also the complete want of historical authority for the assertion that Jesus died on the 14th Nisan, that is, on the feast of the Passover. Paul himself gave cause for the incorrect account in John, when he spoke of Jesus as the Passover lamb which was slain for us: but he has not said that Jesus died on the same day as the Passover lamb, although the evangelist, in order that the legal feast might give place to Christianity, sets forth Christ as the end of the law and of all sacrifice, who ate no passover lamb on the appointed day, and instituted no

* The present kingdom is to some extent mentioned by Paul, 1 Cor. iv. 20, Rom. xiv. 11; elsewhere it is to come, and indeed earnestly expected. The eschatology of the future is on the other hand hardly to be traced in John; (v. 28;) elsewhere it is only the historical future. (comp. xiv. 17.) The kingdom of heaven, xii. 32, xii. 26, xiv. 1, xvii. 24. It is admitted that this thought is scarcely indicated by Paul, 2 Cor. v. 8, Phil. i. 23.

supper, because he was himself the Passover lamb, which was slain on the 14th, and not on the 15th Nisan.*

On all these points, and on others besides, the synoptics are arrayed against the fourth Gospel, and it is not merely, as Godet rather hastily assures his readers, that every historical difference between him and them confirms the superiority of John.† Even where he is in closer agreement with the details of our earlier Gospels, his greater adherence to their later form can be observed; as in the removal of that which is Jewish, the favour shown to the Gentiles, or Samaritans; miracles are increased and sayings rendered more mysterious, and the Christ of John shares, with Luke and Mark especially, a tendency to all that is apocryphal, and goes beyond them. But upon many points he has all three, that is, the whole tradition of the Church as his opponents.‡ We do not speak here of the concrete many-sidedness which is more true to tradition, as well as the homely naturalness of the way of life, and of the sayings and acts of Jesus, which are strongly contrasted with the one-sided view with which we are already acquainted in John, as well as with the monotony of the argumentative and pointed testimony to himself, which is admitted by Weizsäcker, after every attempt to explain it away, and which we pronounce to be the most eminent and concrete contradiction.§

Above all, the synoptic writers differ from John in the cardinal point of their christological ideas. While the Gospel of John not only, as Godet thinks, records the great days on which Jesus bore witness, especially at Jerusalem, but fills

* 1 Cor. xi. 23. Also v. 7. Besides Paul does not admit the insertion of the washing of the disciples' feet. Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 23, x. 1, xii. 13.

† p. 61.

‡ The assertion of Weizsäcker (p. 272) that our three Gospels only give the one-sided tradition of a single source, can be disproved. Whatever may be thought of the synoptical sources, Luke shows in his preface that he has made use of *many sources*, and has given a careful account, founded upon *all*.

§ Just. Mart. ap. i. 14 : *βραχεῖς καὶ συντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγόνασιν, οὐ γὰρ σοφιστὴς ὑπῆρχεν.* These characteristics, as Volkmar is justified in maintaining, only apply to the synoptic Gospels. (Ursprung unserer Evan. p. 107.)

every page with sayings about his existence before the worlds, and his equality with God, the older Evangelists do not give a syllable from the mouth of Jesus about his existence before the worlds; nor is his consciousness of divinity fit for every day use, but only for the isolated and supreme moments of the life of Jesus.* Clearly therefore the exaltation of his nature is historically more doubtful, but very easy to explain on the philosophic foundation of the Evangelist. Who will venture at this day to assert that these utterances of Jesus have gone too far in the other Evangelists, who possess some of the same character, but indeed more moderate, since they were not merely Jews, but altogether of a liberal spirit, and indeed Pauline. These Gospels show in all else that human nature and naturalness which are in accordance with the signs of historical reality, and that which is postulated by our reasonable suppositions. We find in them a growth, a knowledge and a want of knowledge, a leaning to the independent support of others, especially of his predecessor, who is not merely his forerunner, a progress in accordance with the time and his relation to its history, a moral conflict without steadfast excellence, extending even to agitation and violent excitement, to wavering, to weakness, even to helplessness, facts which are unhesitatingly struck out by John. The same amount of difference appears also in the circumstances. Belief and unbelief are not at once produced, but arise in slow and healthy development: the misconceptions are less gross, the shadows less black against the light; human nature takes part in the work; Jesus does not only require a John in order to be himself, but also a believing people, attracted by his disposition, instead of merely by logic, and in his intercourse with men, miracles occur, and worshippers come to his feet, so that he rises to the full heights of his being. This is nature in opposition to art.†

* Comp. Matt. xi. 27. All proofs that the fundamental conception was identical are delusive. Comp. Godet, p. 80.

† Comp. Matt. xi. 25, xiii. 58, Mark vi. 5. Comp. Gesch. Chr. p. 80, Schenckel Characterbild. p. 25.

The relation of Jesus to the law is in the other Gospels, and especially in the earliest, marked in a hundred sayings by the deepest reverence, and there is an immense effort to maintain it as well as to give it a spiritual meaning. In John we have another world, even although he tells of journies to the feasts, which are however only "feasts of the Jews," and deserving of the depreciation of antiquity.* In opposition to this reverence for the nation, we have a slow and unwilling slackening of its bonds, a doubtful understanding with the Gentiles, and not even in Luke, who is the furthest advanced, any great conquest of the Samaritans. In short, the idea of the Messiah is spiritualized by the synoptic writers, yet not so completely as to make them lose the most lively expectation of an earthly kingdom and an earthly coming again.

The time and place of the work of Jesus are differently described. The other Gospels apparently allow space for only one year of teaching (which it is hard enough to deny) and the fourth Gospel gives about three years.† It would be absurd to say that the one year of the synoptic writers, on which they themselves lay no stress, is in artistic connection with the passage in the prophets about the acceptable year of the Lord, or to affirm that the wealth of sayings and acts could not have been poured forth in one year. The artistic motive for the three years lies upon the surface, as well as the impossibility that Jesus could have asserted himself so long against the arrogance of the priesthood. The chronology, even the reckoning of the ancient church, also forbids it. The place of the ministry of Jesus is in the earlier Gospels at first and preeminently in Galilee, and at the end in Jerusalem. In John it

* Hilgenfeld, Ev. 330. Hilg. and Volkmar have overlooked the reference to the O. T. which is exaggerated by Weizsäcker, and still more by Godet. (p. 18.)

† Comp. Gesch. Chr. p. 238. Since Riggenbach has of late, (Zeugniss f. Johannes, 1866,) with a commendation of the greater impartiality of Strauss, (p. 9,) insisted that Matt. xii. 1 points to two passovers; he does not observe that the history intimates May or June, and that I have never denied the two passovers, since I reckon from the beginning of the year 34 to April 35. Further proofs of the history of Jesus itself.

is at first and at last and preeminently in Jerusalem, so much so, that there are only some fleeting excursions into Galilee, and the facts which he gives to Jerusalem form the virtual groundwork of the Galilean consciousness.* For the last ten years men have been apt to set aside the synoptic writers with the reproach that their standpoint is one-sided and Galilean, and with an involuntary testimony to the accuracy which is shown in single passages: in truth these passages require an altogether different interpretation, and the so-called Galilean standpoint, (which cannot be affirmed when we consider the agreement of the Gospels, together with their wealth of manuscript sources and their access to the first Jerusalem Gospel) is a much more faithful narrator of the history ending at Jerusalem, than that of John who assumes to belong to Judea and to Jerusalem.† Add to this, that the sources of the Acts of the Apostles support the synoptic writers, that even in John we find traces of the "Galilean" prophet, that the joyous and undisturbed ministry of Jesus is only observable in that province, and finally that no human art can explain the transplanting of the life of Jesus from the holy city into the province of Galilee, but can indeed account for the adoption of the despised Galilean, who was the Logos, into the city of God.‡

The fall of Jesus in Jerusalem is described by the synoptic writers quite otherwise than by John. It is brought about by his entrance into Jerusalem as the Messiah, by his act of zeal in the Temple, by the weighty controversies with the ruling sects on those grave moral questions which were at issue between them. It is an incomprehensible assertion of Weizsäcker that in these Gospels the fate of Jesus falls on him without preparation: they in truth contain a drama which is unequalled in grandeur and perfection of inward development. It is otherwise with

* iv. 44, 45.

† Gesch. Chr. p. 19. Comp. Schenkel, Characterbild. Jesu. p. 18.

‡ Acts x. 37, John vii. 52. Ewald, p. 13, has also involuntarily betrayed the theory of the Gospel: it prefers to relate the ministry of Judea, lest it be supposed that Jesus has only worked in a *corner of Galilee*.

John. All the motives for the fall of Jesus have long been exhausted. For a long while and indeed always Jesus has been at Jerusalem, so that his solemn entry cannot be understood; he has in the outset violently purified the Temple, he has long before been at strife with "the Jews," both with the leaders and the people, he has unfolded all his full and continual witness to his divine Sonship, and there can be no further controversies concerning the law, since he has overthrown it long before. Yet the fall must come, and must be introduced by the historical entrance of Jesus as a Messiah, and by his triumphant reception by the people. Some fresh occurrence must make his entry, his reception, his arrest, imprisonment and death, intelligible: the resurrection of Lazarus in the neighbouring village of Bethany is this perfectly fresh occurrence. It was on account of this mighty deed that the people hastened to meet him with the cry of the Messiah, to which he himself gives consequence by mounting the ass, and on the other hand his adversaries, considering the miracle and the people, prepare their deadly weapons.* Ths death of Jesus therefore is the result of the miracle at Bethany, or in other words it is without connection. The earlier Gospels keep a fatal silence as to this greatest miracle, the motive and cause of the death of Jesus, those very Gospels, which by their concrete faithfulness to the record of the life of Jesus, and to the record of his death, have far excelled John. Is it possible that they should have slept with Lazarus, overlooking this main fact, the most splendid miracle, the mightiest offence? This silence has hitherto been explained by absurd reasons, except when it is thought better to admit with pious resignation that it is inexplicable. John again has so related this greatest of miracles that no one can believe it in its literal sense. The miracle, this help in need, is not only too great, since the resurrection of a man who has been dead for four days is related nowhere else, but the de-

* Chaps. xi. xii, particularly xii. 9.

meanour of Jesus both before and during the act, is strange and repelling, and the purely ideal character of the transaction is apparent throughout: a resurrection from the dead, whether it be the Lazarus of the parable of the rich man, or Jesus himself, cannot conquer the unbelief of the world: again, the life, the resurrection in each case is in the highest sense the first and last token of the Lord, who awakens Lazarus, in order that he himself and his own people may arise eternally. And if the fact is correct, does such a fact explain the solemn entry of Jesus, which was otherwise not made? Above all, could he enter as the Jewish Messiah in the spirit of this Gospel? could he enter, challenging the order for his imprisonment? Could the offence given by the miracle suffice to explain his death, which is explained so differently and so much more earnestly in the other Gospels?

The last scene calls for further doubt. It has already been observed that the solemnity of the last supper, as to which there can be no doubt, is omitted, on account of another transaction for which we have no other evidence, and which, as Weizsäcker himself admits, could scarcely have occurred, at least on this evening, and it is replaced by long farewell orations, of which the length and tone are psychologically and startlingly at variance with the stately and reserved bearing of Jesus according to the synoptic Gospels. The intelligibly human features of Gethsemane and of Golgotha are altogether wanting. The condemnation is, with all its details, obscure and confused in the main points, since neither the grounds of accusation against Jesus are clearly stated, nor the behaviour of Pilate is by any means intelligible, since, notwithstanding his desire to save Jesus, he abandons him to the utmost scorn and mockery and taunts of the Jews. Finally, the day of death itself is changed to favour an idea, the idea of the lamb sacrificed at the Passover, and altered from the 15th to the 14th Nisan: and the objections of the enemies, that Jesus could not be executed on a feast day, contradict all probabilities, and are suicidal, as Bleek's learned

argument shows to his own injury, since the religious idea of the Jews, as Matthew has already shown, was different, and the same reverence was shown to the eve of the Sabbath as to the feast itself.* Hence comes the costly zeal to win the coveted day for John against the other evangelists.†

This may suffice, and we pass over other things in silence. We have not included the list of general historical or geographical errors, which may be established by reference to the synoptic Gospels, to the Old Testament, to Josephus, Eusebius and Jerome. The assumed errors as to Bethany and Bethesda, Cana and Kedron, Salem and Sychar, as to the high priest for that year, as to the distance from Cana and Capernaum, Bethany and Perea are the less believed, because the author shows otherwise a tolerable acquaintance with the country, and also because the most difficult of these can be explained from a special point of view. The high priest of "the year of death" is significant, and does not imply the belief that there was an annual change. Sychar is familiarly or contemptuously Sichem, Salem and Ain (Ænon) are in Judea, or perhaps rather in Samaria, into the confines of which John the Baptist entered, the exaggeration of distances is subservient to the exaggeration of miracles. If we were to mention a contradiction of sources which are not biblical, in addition to the divergence from Paul and the other Gospels, we should simply say that the mystical and mysterious Baptist who proclaims in the fourth Gospel the secret of existence before the world, and of the cross, and of the perfected Christ not only absolutely contradicts the synoptic writers, but also the prophet of Josephus, who was mighty in deed, practical, and restricted to his nation.‡

The historical weakness of the fourth Gospel is every day more decidedly, and also more universally admitted. Yet

* Bleek, Beiträge, p. 139. Einleitung in's. N. T. p. 181.

† Comp. the detailed proofs in Schenkel, p. 355. The more modern reaction in favour of the Synoptics, by Wieseler. (comp. Baümlein. Hengstenberg, Tholuk) down to Riggenbach. Zeugniss f. das Ev. Joh. 1866, 37.

‡ The foregoing points will also be discussed in the history of Jesus.

minds are again so dazzled by the incontestable splendours of the Gospel, that men are zealous to snatch away the wonderful work of art from the scorching fire of criticism, as far as it is possible to save its head and members. The attempts made (by Paulus, Weisse and Schweizer) to save, at one time, the sayings as valid, genuine, apostolic and historical, at another the histories, have scarcely been exposed, and an attempt which has been too late renewed by Renan; while Al. Schweizer has at the same time openly admitted its fruitlessness, when in our day a fresh compromise has been attempted, only in a less defined and less special manner, since on the one hand this enigmatical book has been found less historical, on the other very faithful to history. This remarkable thesis of the "double face" has lately been advocated by Lücke, together with many others, as well as by Ewald, Weizsäcker and Brückner. The deficiency of a strictly historical interest is admitted, the predominance of ideas, a great distance from the events, a certain flightiness, airiness, as Godet says, and a one-sidedness which goes far in the treatment of facts which are coloured to suit points of view and degraded into suitable material,—fundamental and abstract ideas, which are not clearly conceived, centralization without definite limits and without historical development, a picture of the life of Jesus, which, in comparison with that in the other Gospels, is uniform, confused and almost misty, and then again full of philosophic hardness and coldness; the sayings of Jesus receive a subjective colouring in their expression, in their thoughts and circumstances, even (according to Weizsäcker) in the Christological ideas introduced on the basis of the preface:—but, beside all this, there is found, according to Brückner, a certain objectivity, or, according to Weizsäcker, a good foundation and the rescue of some real recollections, and according to Ewald and Godet, there is the purest history and most amazing conscientiousness of the truth-loving Apostle, even when the history is rather "airily" handled, or, as it is remarked in passing, the words of the Lord are embellished

after the manner of the Greeks and Romans.* How then may contradictions, and the sound remnant of belief which is left, be proved? Much is necessarily set down in general statements: the sayings have had their origin in intuitions, not in conceptions (Luthardt) from a more than earthly meteoric fire (De Wette), from a Christ idealized after the manner of Xenophon or of Plato (Lücke) from the Galilean standpoint of the synoptic Gospels, from the impossibility of considerable variations from those Gospels without due cause, without eye-witness, on the strength of mere invention. (Bleek, Weizsäcker.)

The proper proof consists in trifles: the Gospel gives accidentally very serviceable notices, or proves the strictest conscientiousness by not introducing the name of the Logos into the history, by correction of particular assertions of the synoptic Gospels, by a distinction between the history and the later reflections of the disciples. A wonderful value of faithfulness in trifles when it is wanting in larger matters, and perverse also on this point, because, for example, the motive for these distinctions and those corrections is altogether different.† Finally, it was natural that so many bleeding wounds in the Gospel should be duly bound up, the tokens of apostolic and post-apostolic times confused as far as possible, the synoptic Gospels reconciled in one case, and in another corrected: either John gives the same, or gives a better version: but justice and truth do not consist with this harmonizing, and Ewald and Weizsäcker are imprisoned in its bonds. The latter goes so far as to reconcile the sixth chapter with the synoptic Gospels, to explain the opposition of Jesus to the law in John, the simply Galilean ministry of one year in the other Gospels as a mere

* Comp. Ewald, pp. 2, 14, 33. Weizsäcker, pp. 221, 224. Godet, 10, 23.

† Very recently Riggenbach, p. 7, has wished us to believe that it is only the palm-branches of John xii. 13, which explain the cries of Hosanna on entering Jerusalem. (Comp. Delitzsch in Rud. Zeitschr. 1855, 653.) As if the branches of trees and the garments, Matt. xxi. 8, were not a sufficient explanation. (Comp. Lightfoot on this passage.) The correction, iii. 24, is only made in order to give room for the swan-like song of the prophet, which is to introduce Jesus: the distinction between facts and comments, ii. 19, vii. 38, in order to show the weakness and the mystery.

appearance which means nothing, and to find that the Jewish aspect of the life of Jesus, the question as to the Messiah, and the history of his fall in Jerusalem, are best related by John. I much prefer the round decision of Luthardt to this attempt:—this history is possible; therefore it actually took place.

Burdened with a want of logic and of criticism, incapable of giving any support which can be maintained to the supposition that there were two writers, an Apostle and one of his disciples (as Paulus, Ewald and Weizsäcker prefer to think), these opinions have no prospect of remaining long in the field. Whoever will maintain the historical character of the author in spite of his evident want of history, must maintain it in a wholly different way, not in trifles, but in grand style. It may be that in trifles this writer has here and there borrowed a valuable touch from the written and oral tradition which flowed to him, and which we cannot estimate, as possibly about Perea, Cana and Ephraim, or about Nicodemus and Nathanael, history must weigh such things, not without mistrust, since it has more trustworthy sources, and it may in the "accidental" notes find here and there a borrowed design, or perhaps a reminiscence worth consideration. But it is important that in greater matters we find the good ground which Weizsäcker wished to find, quite otherwise than it appeared to him while he was weighing trifles. This ground is not immediately, nor literally historical: how can it be so when it is admitted that a new centre is introduced, the Christological idea? But on many points it is deduced partly by dogma, partly as a matter of history, out of the narrative. Jesus has by no means claimed the equality with God which the Gospel gives him, but he was assured that he was one with God, and of this belief a later school of thought, in order to avert the later separation between God and the world, has sought to find the roots in an essential equality between God and Jesus. He by no means abolished the law, building his new religion on the ruins of Moses and of the Temple, but his deepest thoughts were really above the law, and led up to the worship of God in spirit and in truth.

He by no means appealed to the Jews and Gentiles from the beginning, without distinction, nor again foretold his death from the first, but in the midst and at the close of his career, he attained to this height. Finally, he by no means possessed perfect wisdom and virtue from the first, and neither at the beginning nor end was he all-knowing and all-mighty, but he was the marvellous man of God, with exceeding and divine powers, and became when he was perfected the exponent of the supreme wisdom of God, and the purest expression of victorious human virtue. The ideal conception of the Gospel flows throughout into the historical: only it is grasped amid exaggerations of many different kinds, both of the tendency and the bearing of facts; the end put in the place of the beginning, completeness in the place of incompleteness, that which was to endure eternally in the person of Jesus in the place of that which was transitory and temporal.* The Church lived, and still lives, in dependence on the Eternal, by means of which it was made. The history depends on both, only reaching the one by means of the other, reaching John by means of the synoptic Gospels, and it declares to the modern Church that without the one, it loses the assurance and the comfort of the other.

ζ. *The Date.*

The signs of a late date, and of an author who lived some time after the apostolic age, are of material service in coming to these conclusions.

The traces of its date, independent of the work itself—that is, the external evidence for the existence of the Gospel in the Church—have been sought for in modern times with keen-sighted endeavours which are constantly renewed; Baur and Zeller taking an exemplary precedence among the critics, and these traces, in some cases sought for with zeal which was not

* Thus Strauss, p. 140: he has however abandoned too much of the concrete faithfulness to history in the synoptic Gospels, when he is able to say that it must be a great question which of the two positions is to be considered the nearest to the historical Jesus, the standpoint of Matthew with the continuance of the letter of the law, or the standpoint of the adoration of spirit and truth.

dispassionate, have been found and again lost after premature triumph.*

Taken by themselves, the signs of the fourth Gospel in the history of the Church extend nearly as far back as those of its predecessors, the earlier Gospels, which therefore allow us at the outset to reckon that this Gospel appeared, at earliest, about the beginning of the second century.† The name of the Gospel, ascribing it to John, only appears somewhat later than the first traces of the names of the synoptic Gospels, in Papias and Justin, namely, about the year 170-180, in the fragment of Muratori and in Theophilus (180); and our Gospels appear at the same time, placed in proper order and classification, at the beginning of the Catholic age, in the above-named fragment, and in the great doctors of the Church. But the Gospel was in use in the aforesaid literature before it is spoken of by name, in as early use as the synoptic Gospels. This statement has indeed been warmly contested by the school of Baur up to this day. It is admitted that the Gospel was in use about A.D. 160-70 by Athenagoras, Tatian, in all the spurious epistles of Ignatius, by Melito, Apollinaris, and Theophilus, and even by the heathen Celsus, who about the time of the apology of Athenagoras before the imperial throne wrote his letter of peace to the Christians (176-7); and, with the aid of the lately discovered conclusion to the Clementine Homilies, which evidently refers to the story of the man who was born blind,

* Comp. (in addition to well-known and longer works) respecting the external evidence in favour of the fourth Gospel, Baur, theolog. Jahrb. 1857, 209, Volkmar, the same, 1854. 446, and Ursprung uns. Ev. 1866. On the other side, Bleek, Beiträge, p. 200, Jacobi, Deutsche Zeitschr. 1851, No. 28, Schneider, über die Aechtheit des Joh. Ev. 1854, Ewald, Jahrb. v. 178, and lastly Tischendorf: Wann wurden uns. Evan. verfasst. 1865. Also Riggenbach, Programm. 1866: Die Zeugniss f. d. Ev. Joh. neu untersucht.

† Other writings in the N. T. have something in common with it: Eph. v. 11-13, (John iii. 20.) 1 Tim. iii. 16. James i. 17, iii. 15, iv. 4, 17, 1 Peter i. 23. So again, the Epistle to the Hebrews. But research into priority would carry us too far, especially since the date of these writings is not established. John xxi. is an old proof, a spurious appendix which can hardly have been made long before the end of the second century. Comp. 2 Peter i. 14.

the author of this work has also, after long opposition, been admitted to have been acquainted with this Gospel; but we have, thus far, no sufficient grounds for putting the date earlier than the year 160. It is the more emphatically denied by Zeller, and indeed even by Ewald, that Justin Martyr was acquainted with the Gospel of the Logos, a denial so steadfastly maintained by Volkmar, in opposition to Lücke, Tischendorf, and Weizsäcker, that, out of consideration for the incontestable coincidences, he reverses the sequence and has even ascribed the fourth Gospel to the Martyr, just as he assigned the authorship of the first Epistle of John to Polycarp.* It may here be observed, that chronology comes to aid the assumption of the Martyr's dependence upon John. Let us grant that he had not, as Semisch and Otto suppose, written his first Apology about the year 138-9, at which time he was at any rate a Christian; nor, as Volkmar asserts in his acute treatise concerning the date of Justin, about A.D. 147, but in the last years of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, in the zenith of the fame of Marcion, A.D. 155-60.† At that time the Clementine

* D. Urspr. uns. Ev. 1866, p. 91. The proof that the first Epistle is derived from the Epistle of Polycarp is not successful. For the positive statement of the first Epistle (iv. 2.) is at least as original as that which is negative in the Epistle of Polycarp: it is also not without meaning, since the "Ebionites" would certainly not subscribe to this statement. In particular, the conception of "an Antichrist" shows a further development in the letter of Polycarp, since the former assumes that there was but one. (1 John iv. 3.) Moreover, the authenticity even of the pith of the Epistle of Polycarp, which is so closely allied with the Epistle of Ignatius, is somewhat questionable.

† The chronology of the persecutions, which first began to be hot about A.D. 155 (comp. letters of Antoninus) is in favour of a later date, the closing year of the reign of Antoninus, and also that Justin in his last important work, expected that the Roman Emperor's bloody work would be crowned by the Antichrist: (Tryph. 39:) the quotation of Marcion, ap. i. 26, is also strongly in favour of it: ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστί διδάσκων—ὃς κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων πολλοὺς πεποίηκε βλασφημίας λέγειν. I. 58: καὶ νῦν διδάσχει, ᾧ πολλοὶ πειθέντες, κ. τ. λ. Marcion shows all this in the height of a very long ministry which extended to the west, and even to Rome (where was Justin himself, c. 26, 56.). But this ministry, and especially in the west, according to the irrefragable testimony of Irenæus, which is not gainsaid by Clement, (Strom. 7, 17, 106,) first occurred under Bishop Anicetus: (according to the most tenable chronology of Eusebius, A.D. 158-168:) Marcion illi succedens *invaluit* sub *Aniceto*, haer. 3, 4. 3. So that he is in fact the Antonianus haereticus

Homilies had already made use of the fourth Gospel. It is also very remarkable that Justin's scholar, Tatian, has made use of the Gospel of John with special preference. But it is easy to show that the Martyr himself had a series of passages from John in his mind, however much we may with Zeller withdraw from the "cloud of witnesses." He has the saying of the Baptist, which is only to be found in John, he describes the birth of Christ with the dogmatic formula from John of the seed of the flesh and the Divine will, he gives the saying about the new birth with the original misunderstanding by Nicodemus, and the assertion that the Father and the Son were not made known by means of the Jews; not to speak of lesser coincidences on which Riggenbach might still rely.* In those passages we have a resemblance in the quotation of the Gospel histories for which Justin needed a source; we have a lively agreement with the manner of contemplation and of

of Tertullian, (c. Marc. 1. 19,) since he was active throughout the reign of Antoninus, 138-161. The date ap. I. 46 (A.D. 150) does not contradict this, still less the increased distance from the Jewish war under Hadrian, (not that of Antoninus Capit. Ant. Pius, c. 5,) which appears to be very lately over, from the Apology (I. 31) and from the dialogue with Tryphon (later than the Apology, Tryph. 120, 1, 9, 16, 52, 92, 108,): since this war was so far past, that even the recollection of the prohibition of circumcision, given by Hadrian, and removed by Antoninus, is wholly past (comp. Tryph. 8, 10, 16, 92.). It is also self-evident that oral communication and its report might, in spite of c. 80, lie far apart.

* (*a*) Tryph. 88. *οὐκ εἰμί ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος* = John i. 21, 23, which Volkmar suggests to be an "amplification" of Acts xiii. 25! (*b*) Tryph. 63: *τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γεγεννημένον ἀλλ' ἐκ θελήματος θεοῦ* = John i. 13. (*c*) Ap. i. 61, the well-known passage as to being born again, and the impossibility of returning to the mother's womb = John iii. 4. (*d*) Ap. i. 63: *οὔτε τὸν πατέρα οὔτε τὸν υἱὸν ἔγνωσαν* = John xvi. 3, viii. 19. No doubt Justin had only got Matt. xi. 27, actually before him, but it is evident that John here serves as a commentary on Matt. Other quotations are not convincing, such as ap. i. 22. Tryph. 69, *ἐκ γενετῆς* (not precisely a blind man!) Tryph. 69, *λαοπλάνος*, comp. together with John vii. 12, Matt. xxvii. 63: also the quotation from Zech. xii. 10 = John xix. 37, in Tryph. 14, 32, ap. i. 52, since it is sufficiently explained from Rev. i. 7, or indeed the passage about the incarnation, Tryph. 105, on which Riggenbach (together with Tryph. 100, ap. i. 32, 66) lays stress. These passages win however more credence when taken with the form, and admit the possibility of a belief in their composition by the Apostle John. (ap. i. 66, Tryph. 103; Apostle and companion of the author of the Gospel as in our Gospel.)

representation which is peculiar to John, in which also we must reckon the system of misunderstanding; we have points of agreement which must rank with those of the Clementine Homilies, and to recognize them in the one case and deny them in the other would be to incur the reproof of want of logic. In particular instances it is quite impossible not to admit that the ideas of Justin are on the whole far more advanced, and are at the same time derived from those of John, as Weizsäcker has lately shown, and Volkmar has unfortunately denied, in a single instance. And finally, who can in earnest believe that, either in general or in particular, the original and spiritual author of the Gospel was the scholar of Justin Martyr, who was notoriously a man whose powers of mind were moderate, dependent upon what he gleaned from others, and ineloquent.*

But if Justin's references to the fourth Gospel are admitted, which do not however imply his undivided assent, since this Gospel is at issue with tradition, as well as with the orthodox belief in the earthly kingdom of Jerusalem, which was to endure a thousand years, we may deduce from this some further consequences.† We see the less reason to doubt with Zeller and with Volkmar that the famous Bishop Papias of Hierapolis, the most orthodox of Chiliasts, made no use of the Gospel,

* Comp. only (Tryph. 34, 61, 128) Justin's theory as to the coming forth of the Logos (the *δύναμις λογική*, described in such various names): without mutilation, without diminution, (= Word, Fire,) yet with special qualities, no mere nominal distinction, as in Sun, and sunlight, another in number, no evanescent appearance, &c. comp. Weizsäcker, Joh. Logoslehre, Jahrb. deutsch. Theol. 1862, 703. In the passage as to being born again, Volkmar has been forced to admit there is a quotation, but it is John who has quoted! (97) But it is incorrect to say that John has changed Justin Martyr's baptism with water into a higher baptism by the Spirit. In the first place, Justin's theory of baptism is far more artificial. And in the illumination (*φωτισμὸς διανοίας*) is not the Holy Spirit expressly, and repeatedly named? Moreover it is impossible not to suppose that Justin's whole tone of thought is not the source of the fourth Gospel.

† I do not doubt that it was the Gospel's breach with the Chiliastic teaching which repelled Justin. Tryph. 80, is very instructive on this point. However mildly he expresses himself against those who are not Chiliast, he says finally: *ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμενες κατὰ χριστιανοὶ, καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλμήν, κ. τ. λ.*

(and this is not disputed by Tischendorf,) but did, as Eusebius asserts, make use of the first epistle of John, which is ascribed to the same author, since Papias was not, as Volkmar also sees, the original old writer, but flourished about the time of Polycarp, A.D. 160.* It occurs to us here to receive with grave doubts the information of Tertullian, that Marcion rejected the Gospels of the Apostles, that is, of Matthew and John.† Marcion, as Irenæus distinctly says, was at the height of his success and strength under Bishop Anicetus; that is, A.D. 158-168, at a time therefore when the Gospel was already widely used. The same must be said of another Gnostic, Valentinus. Irenæus asserts that the Gospel was in full use in the schools of Valentinus. Tertullian mentions that their founder appeared to make use of the whole and complete Testament, and the Philosophoumena ascribe the use of the saying, John x. 8, to Valentinus.‡ In answer to this, we are told of a confusion between the scholars and their teacher, and it is partly proved; but these facts cannot be denied, that the Gospel has served for the teacher as well as for his scholars, and that the teacher, appearing under Bishop Hyginus, flourished under the Bishops Pius and Anicetus, A.D. 168, or, as Tertullian says, even down to Eleutherus, A.D. 177-190, times when the Gospel had long been in circulation.§

Unless we are wholly mistaken, the Gospel can be traced for a full generation back from the year 160. Since the time of Lücke, men have been disinclined to believe that it was quoted in the earliest records by the so-called apostolic fathers, in

* Eus. 3, 39. Comp. Volkmar, p. 60. It is indeed unnecessary (as for example, Zahn, Abhdlg. über Papias. Jahrb. deutsch. Theol. 1866) should explain the remark of Papias as to the want of arrangement in Mark by comparison with John, instead of with Matthew.

† C. Marc. 4, 2, d. carn. Chr. 3.

‡ Iren. haer. 3, 11, 7: hi autem, qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est sec. Joh. evangelio plenissime utentes ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum ex ipso detegentur nihil recte dicentes. Tert. praeser. 38. Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur. Philos. 6, 35.

§ Date of Valentinus, Iren. 3, 4, 3. Tert. adv. Val. 4. Eus. 4, 10.

the Epistle of Barnabas, the first of Clement, and the Shepherd of Hermas. "Even slight allusions cannot be traced in a single instance." Volkmar has recently said that it was incontestable that Barnabas did not recognize the Gospel of the Logos, declaring that the early date given to his letter by Ewald and Weizsäcker, and now also by Riggenbach, must be ascribed to their embarrassment at finding in it no trace of John.* But on this point it is possible to be of a different opinion. However clearly it may be shown that the letter of Barnabas does not give a history, nor a single word of the Gospel, is not acquainted with its conception of the Logos, the watchwords of the Water and the Blood, or the types of Christ in the Old Testament, and, above all, that it makes an independent use of the serpent which was set up for the believers in the wilderness, yet the inmost sphere of thought of this epistle corresponds with the Gospel in so many ways, both in general and in detail, that criticism must declare their connection, or, if it leaves the enigma unexplained, renounce its calling.† "The Son of God" must be manifested in the flesh, manifested in suffering, must be glorified through death and the cross, must bring life and the abiding presence of God: such is in both the prevailing and fundamental thought.‡ Existing before the foundation of the world, the Lord of the world, the sender of the prophets, and the object of their predictions, seen by Abraham, typified in the person of Moses, as he who could alone redeem Israel, revealed and glorified by types before his incarnation, he must at last appear, dwell among us, and be seen, not as the Son of David, but as the Son of God in a garment of flesh, by those who could not even

* Volkmar. Urspr. uns. Ev. p. 65. Zeller did not concern himself with Barnabas. I myself admit that the traces in the first of Clement are unimportant. Comp. *μόνος καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός*, c. 43.

† *περὶ τοῦ ἔσατος κ. τοῦ σταυροῦ*. Barn. 11, *ὅφις τύπος Χριστοῦ*. c. 12.

‡ *υἱὸς θεοῦ*, significant. c. 5. 7. *ἐφανερώθη*, 14. *ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί*, 5. *ἔμελλεν ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι, μέλλων φ. ἐν σαρκί*. ib. *ζύξα Χριστοῦ, ζωή*. c. 12.

endure the rays of his earthly sun.* Thus he came, and thus died, that he might fulfil the promises, that he might diffuse purification, forgiveness and life by his apparent failure, that he might destroy death, vanquish the devil, and set forth the resurrection, and with the resurrection the right of judgment to come: that moreover he might fill up the measure of the sins of Israel, whom he had loved exceedingly, and to whom he had shown so great signs and wonders, and again, that he might make ready a people for himself, who should keep his commandments, his new law.† He has accomplished that which his Father gave him to do, freely and for our sakes he accepted the sufferings which are the true explanation of his death.‡ "The Jews" did not set their hopes upon him, however much the types of the Old Testament, and Moses himself had declared him, and led astray into carnal desires by the devil, in opposition to the spirituality of Moses, they have placed their trust and hopes in the circumcision of the flesh, and the material house of God, instead of upon God, they have worshipped the Lord in the temple almost as the Gentiles do.§ But Christ was exalted above the flesh and its lusts, which obscures the perception as well as the will, into the spirit and spiritual worship, above the ways of darkness into the ways of light; he constrains men to believe in him, and by faith to attain perfect knowledge, as one who is born again, who is full of the Spirit of God, in whom God is abiding, and prophesying, although unseen and unheard, telling of the past and of the future, taught of God, and fulfilling the commandments of the new law of the Lord, a lover of the brethren, and a child of peace,

* Revealed in the O. T. c. 5, 12. Abraham: *ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν*, c. 9. Præ-existence, 5, 6, 12. *ἀπὸ καταβ. κόσμου*. 5. Not the son of David. 12. *φαν. καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν*. 6. Necessity of concealment, 5.

† Purpose of his death, particularly, c. 5, 6: *ἵνα ἁγνισθῶμεν*. (Joh. xi. 55), c. 5: *προσέφερε τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν λαοῦ καινοῦ*. 7. Comp. Joh. xi. 52.

‡ *ἐποιήσεν ἐντολήν*. 6. *ὑπέμεινε παραδοῦναι τὴν σάρκα*. 6. *αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν οὕτω παθεῖν*. Love. 1, 7.

§ Hope of the Jews and Christians. (Comp. John v. 39. 45.) 6. 9, 19. 16. 19. Sensuality, *ἐπιθυμία σαρκὸς*. 10.

of joy and love.* Paul, and even the Epistle to the Hebrews, have no analogy with this sphere of ideas, which is only to be found in this Gospel, however much this connection has hitherto been overlooked. And if it can be disputed on which side the dependence lies, (it may be discovered that the ideas are due to Barnabas, their application and the perfect conception of the Logos to John,) in any case, the Gospel had its origin very near the time of the Epistle of Barnabas. It may be more justly said, that in the Epistle of Barnabas we find a rigid and scholastic theory, more stress laid on types, and an over-refined view of Judaism; and, in addition to this, the points of view appear to have been given and not invented; the water and blood, the new law, the new people, and the solemn revelation of the Son of God, as well as the selection of the disciples, and the great miracles and proofs of love which are fruitlessly set before Israel, are evidently allusions to history, that is, to the second and twelfth chapters of John.† But the Epistle of Barnabas, according to the clear proof of Volkmar, in opposition to Hilgenfeld and Weizsäcker, and now indeed to Riggenbach, was written about the time of the building of the new temple under the Emperor Hadrian, about A.D. 120 (according to Volkmar, at the earliest 118-119, at latest 130).‡

* Spirit, 1. 5, 16. Gnosis. 1. 10. Way of light, 19. New birth, 16. Taught of God, 21. Temple of God, *ναὸς ἁγ. τέλειος, κατοικητηρίον, θεὸς κατοικῶν ἐν ὑμῖν*, 4. 6, 16, *καινὸς νόμος*. 2. *ἐντολή*, 9. 19, 21. Love of the brethren, 1. 4. Joy, 7. 21.

* Cap. 5, *ὅτε τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους ἐξελέξατο, τότε ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι.* This is tolerably consistent with John i. 35. ii. 11. Comp. vi. 70, cap. 5: *διδάσκων τὸν Ισραὴλ καὶ τηλικαῦτα τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ποιῶν ἐκήρυξε καὶ ὑπερηγάπησεν αὐτόν.* But want of faith! (it follows in the same cap. and also in c. 19.) Comp. John xii. 37, xiii. 1. No doubt the Sin. admits *ὑπερηγάπησεν*. But it does not suit the whole conception.

‡ Barn. c. 4, 16. Comp. Volkmar, Theol. Jahrb. 1856, p. 351. Urspr. uns. Ev. p. 65, 110, 140. Weizsäcker, zur Kritik des Barnabasbriefs. Progr. 1863: In the time of Vespasian: Riggenbach: Nerva, Hilgenfeld: before Trajan, or the beginning of Trajan's reign: Hefele, Trajan. The main proof is found in c.16. The *enemies* who, according to Is. xlix. 17, and yet in opposition to the divine will, were now to rebuild the wasted temple, and together with these, the *servants of the enemies* (*οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται*) cannot possibly be interpreted, as is done by Hilgenfeld, as the

So much detail must be excused by the importance of the subject. Between Barnabas and Justin stands the Shepherd of Hermas, (cir. A.D. 140-150, under Bishop Pius, according to Schwegler, ten years earlier according to Volkmar and Hilgenfeld), and he was evidently acquainted with the first epistle, while, at the same time, his whole terminology often reminds us of the Gospel.* This also is forgotten. And yet the admonition to keep the commandments is in the closest connection with the epistle, the declaration that the commandments are easy, the belief that they can be kept, even so as to be free from sin, the faith in the victory over Satan, who no longer finds any place in believers, the abiding presence of God, or of His Son, and of the Spirit, which makes all things possible to the elect, and brings to pass the one body of the Church.† Not only the images of the Shepherd remind us of the Gospel, such as the flock, the door, the food of the word, or the contrasts of life and death, truth and falsehood, or the admonition, Sin no more: but more particularly the historical

Christians, even if they are afterwards ingeniously introduced as spiritual restorers. It refers to the rebuilding of the temple after Hadrian's time, in 117. The eschatology in c. iv. points first to Nerva, but includes his immediate successors. (Trajan, Hadrian.) Weizsäcker and Volkmar have here, as may be easily proved, made a false and forced calculation. The ten Kings are simply Emperors, down to Vespasian and Domitian: the "small one" who follows them (ὄπισθεν, and not strictly ἐξ αὐτῶν) who degraded three great kings at once, is the old, weak Nerva (comp. only Aur. Vict. Cæs. 12), who made an end of the three dreaded Flavii. In the dynasty begun by him, which was itself threefold, later in Hadrian's time the building of the temple (2. Caligula?) came to an end.

* I only judge from the Frag. of Muratori: pastorem nuperrime (this indeed does not only apply to the relation to the O. T.) temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit sedente cathedra urbis Romæ ecclesiæ *Pio Episcopo* fratre ejus, 143-158. The persecution of the Christians, as in Justin, yet the pressura magna was still expected, 1. 4, 2. 1, 2, 3. Schwegler suggests the time of Trajan, Hilgenfeld that of Trajan. Volkmar, 130-135.

† Custodite mandata neque deinceps peccetis (John v. 4.): hæc mandata facile custodies et non erunt dura (2. 12. 3); intelligetis, quod nihil facilius est his mandatis, neque dulcius, neque mansuetius, neque sanctius, 2. 12, 4. Comp. 1 John v. 3. Nothing more easy when God is in the heart; id. and 1 John iii. 6, 9. Against this indwelling presence the devil has no power, nor any entrance, 2. 5, 2. 12, 4. 5. 2, 7. Comp. 1 John iv. 4, v. 18, John xiii. 27, xiv. 30.

statement: Christ has shown us the way of life, in giving us a law which he received from the Father.* We must again deduce the result of these facts. One of the first great Gnostics, Basilides, who, according to Eusebius, lived under Hadrian (117-138), has, according to the Philosophoumena, made use of the preface in John, and of the wedding at Cana, and this discovery has been as eagerly asserted from Jacobi to Tischendorf and Weizsäcker, as it has been contested from Zeller to Volkmar. It is certain that this treatise repeatedly and distinctly introduces quotations from John by Basilides and no other man; "he says," is used, not "they say," as if it were Isidore and his chorus of followers: and even if the possibility of some confusion is admitted, with however slight justification, yet the fact must add to the weight of testimony that John was actually in existence in the time of Basilides, and it is evident that the Gnostic tendency, of masters and scholars eagerly laid hold of his book.†

Thus far, we have become almost the warmest defenders of the antiquity of the Gospel: our testimony goes back to Justin, to Barnabas, to the year 120: what older and better witness have we for the synoptic Gospels? Let us now, however, consider the distinction. The use made of the fourth Gospel was for a long while slighter and more cautious than that made of the earlier Gospels. Volkmar goes too far indeed, when he says that the new Gospel was considered ingenious and interesting, but that it was without authority, for the Clementine Homilies quote John with high honour, and the addition: The teacher, the prophet, has thus spoken: but we do not fail to observe a certain anxiety in making use of fresh sources, which requires explanation. The Epistle of Barnabas delights in this

* 3, 5, 6; monstravit itinera vitæ data eis lege, quam a patre acceperat, completely the standpoint of the fourth Gospel.

† Philosoph. 7. 22. 27. Eus. 4, 6. Comp. Weizsäcker, p. 232. Volkmar, p. 71, finds that the remark, ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις, clearly shows that the Canon was complete from the end of the century: but is not the same expression to be found in Justin, and had they not *Gospels* in Hadrian's time?

sphere of thought, to which he everywhere alludes, but he does not venture on direct and frank quotation: he makes slight use of particulars and avoids the doctrine of the Logos, of the Paraclete, and of the kingdom that has come. Justin Martyr and the Clementine Homilies have used other sources far more freely, including our synoptic Gospels, even where John almost puts himself forward, and in the most important questions of the life of Jesus they take no notice of the contradictions of the fourth Gospel, as for example concerning the time of his ministry, and his manner of teaching in short parables. Papias is silent as to the Gospel, or possibly has openly blamed it, however much he may have prized the epistle.* The interest in the Gospel, which is at this day so highly estimated, increased towards the close of the century, and, which is remarkable, not without the lively support of the condemned Gnosticism, and its equal rank and indeed superiority to the earlier sources was established, as we may find in Tatian the scholar of Justin (171-175), as well as in the Fragment of Muratori (cir. 180), in Theophilus, Irenæus and the other fathers.† The reasons for this delay in the acceptance of the fourth Gospel lay chiefly in its later origin, and it very slowly broke a path for itself beside the records which were already loved and in earlier use, more slowly indeed than did Luke or Mark in comparison with Matthew. The oldest fathers have, without exception, admitted this later origin, even if they do not precisely fix it in the time of the Emperor Trajan.‡ In addition to its later origin there

* Comp. Justin, Apol. i. 63, the ignorance of the Jews from Matt. ii, instead of first-hand from John viii. 19, xvi. 3. The single year of office: Clem. Hom. 17, 19: the short parables: Justin, p. 128. Papias, Eus. 3. 39: *οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀληθῆ διδάσκουσι, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσι, κ. τ. λ.* Undoubtedly it is possible that these words only refer to the Gnosis.

† Tatian wrote his *λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, which shows a great preference for the use of this Gospel, after the death of Justin (cir. 166) and at a time when the state was urged by the populace to a fresh persecution of the Christians (c. 4) before 176, and under the sole rule of M. Aurelius, *i.e.* 171-175.

‡ It is indeed the last Gospel, *Ἰωάννης ἔσχατος*, Clem. a. Eus. 6, 14. (Hier. cat.

was the difference of its contents, its Christology, and yet more, as we can see from Justin and Papias, its eschatology in comparison with all the synoptic Gospels: finally, as is evident from Irenæus, a repulsion from the new "spirit," which seemed to be caricatured in the new revelations of the Montanists. The first controversy about the Passover mentions the doubts about the Gospel, and so especially does Irenæus, and Epiphanius knows later of the hot opposition of the Alogi against the "lying Gospel;" we can see still more clearly how many objections it was necessary to obviate from the numerous justifications and explanations respecting its origin, as well as its agreement with the synoptic Gospels, in the Fragment of Muratori, in Irenæus, Clement, and down to Eusebius and his successors.* The most interesting is indeed the long digression in the Fragment of Muratori, which ventured to defend the book as the work of an eye-witness, and to extol it as the universal Gospel (which shows indeed the bias of an advocate) declaring that it was all-sided in contrast to those that were one-sided, and that it was accepted by all the Apostles, or, as was asserted

9, novissimum omnium.) Irenæus only says more exactly, that John lived until Trajan's time in Ephesus, but not when he wrote the Gospel, (5, 30, 3,) whether before or after the Apocalypse, which was supposed to have been written in Domitian's reign. Moreover he points to a late time, 3, 11, 1, in his remark that the Gospel was directed against Cerinthus and the earlier Nicolaitans.

* Comp. controversy of Passover. Apoll. in Chron. pasch. Dind. 1, 13. f. Iren. haer. 3, 11, 9: alii ut donum spir. frustrentur, illam speciem non admittunt, quæ est sec. Joannis ev. in qua Paraeletum se missurum dominus promisit. Sed simul et evangelium et proph. repellunt spiritum. Infelices vere, qui pseudoprophetas quidem esse volunt, proph. vero gratiam repellunt ab ecclesia, similia patientes his, qui propter eos, qui in hypocrisi veniunt, etiam a fratrum communione abstinent. When logically considered it is, as Bleek and Ritschl also observe, unquestionable that instead of text. rec. pseudo-prophetæ prophetas must be read: and thereby the empty hypotheses as to Montanist opponents must fall to the ground: it is not, that many rejected the spiritual Gospel on account of the misuse of the Montanists. It is also a fact that the Montanists appealed to synoptic passages for their prophets, especially to Matthew xxiii. 34, (anon. ap. Eus. 5, 16,) as also did their opponents to Matt. xxiv. 24, although they appear also to have made use of John (xvi. 8) in their conception of the πνεῦμα ἐλεγκτικὸν. Epiph. haer. 51, 3, (comp. De Wette, Einl. p. 227,) Eus. 3, 24.

later, obtained by the prayers of those who were sent to receive it.*

These external signs declare that the fourth Gospel had its origin in the beginning of the second century, certainly in the time of the Emperor Trajan, between A.D. 100-117, so much after the synoptic Gospels, as well as after their primary source, that great exertions were necessary to break a path for itself beside those whose authority was already established in the churches.

The book itself gives several internal signs of its date: such as the position of Christianity, as it can here and there be traced, and the ideas peculiar to the book, which permit us to observe its date.

The Church no longer consists of the generation of the apostolic age. The way in which the sayings of Jesus as to his coming again are thoroughly melted down, the change of his return into a coming of the Spirit, and a reception in heaven, plainly point to a later age, which could no longer use and apply the old sayings, and comforted itself with the spiritual benefits and a heavenly inheritance. The waning belief in the second coming, in which Justin found himself alone, can be traced in the second century as early as in the first epistle of Clement, the epistle of Polycarp, and even in a book of the New Testament (2 Peter iii. 4). Luke and Mark offered the first consolation, and the second is to be found in the epistle to the Hebrews and the first epistle of Clement,† which is contemporary with Barnabas. The Apostles, therefore, have naturally disappeared from the scene. They appear as slain by the Jews, summoned by their Lord, and the word and prayer of Jesus extends, as in Mark, beyond them to the

* Ut recognoscentibus *cunctis* (apostolis) Johannes suo nomine *cuncta* describeret, &c.

† Justin, p. 140. Polyc. ad Philipp. 7: ὃς ἂν λέγῃ, μητε ἀνάστασιν μητε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ σατανᾶ. 1 Clem. 23: πόῤῥω γενεσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει. ταλαιπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι οἱ λέγοντες. ταῦτα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπί τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδού γεγηράκημεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συμβέβηκε. Heavenly home: comp. 1. Clem. 5, ep. ad Diogn. 5.

Church, which they have brought into the faith.* The spurious addition to the Gospel (ch. xxi.) does not only declare that Peter, and even the disciple who was to stay till the Lord came, was gone.† Jerusalem is also no more; the prophecy of Jesus that prayer should cease to be offered in the Temple, and the prophecy of the high priest Caiaphas, that the Romans should come to take away their place and nation, was significant to the author because he had seen their fulfilment.‡ Christianity is widely diffused, reaping rich harvests in the world and among the Greeks, since Philip can appear as their representative (perhaps because of the confusion which had already taken place between him and the deacon of the Acts of the Apostles).§ Yet the distress was not wanting which Mark had already foreseen in the kingdom of God, only it comes rather from the Jews than the Gentiles.‖ The Church is composed at once of Greeks and of Jews, whose future union had been foreseen by Jesus; but, as the Greeks are the most numerous, their principles are also in the ascendant, and the Church worships the Father spiritually, without a law, and without a Temple, and no longer eats the Jewish Passover with the people.¶ Yet Judaism is tolerated, and a higher union of the conflicting churches is attained. There is no more trace of the Apostle Paul nor of the twelve, and the spiritual ordinances of Christianity receive the Jewish name of a new commandment, a new law.**

All these features correspond with the second century, and indeed with its beginning. The time of Trajan appears most probable, considering the information of Hegesippus as to the final disappearance of the old witnesses to the life of Jesus, as well as the great diffusion of Christianity, and the moderation of the heathen persecution, which had then scarcely begun.††

* xvi. 2, xiv. 3, xvii. 20. † xxi. 22, 23. ‡ iv. 21, xi. 48.
§ iv. 35, xii. 20. Acts viii. 5. ‖ ix. 34, xvi. 2.
¶ Comp. iv. 21, x. 16, xviii. 28.
** Comp. vi. 70 (οἱ δώδεκα); xiii, 34: ἐντολὴν καινήν.
†† Heges. a. Eus. 3, 32. Conversions under Trajan, also Jews, Eus. 3, 35. Plin.

To this may be added the beginning of the union of Jews and Gentiles in the Church, on account of the old law having come to an end, and the new law being proclaimed, as it appears in striking agreement with the old records of the beginning of the second century, including Barnabas and the first of Clement, and with some further support from the Apostle Paul.*

The sphere of thought peculiar to the Gospel adds fresh light, which enables us to look more deeply into the situation of the time. We need only grasp its centre point, which lies within the range of its Christology. Jesus, the true Son of God, glorified and existing before the world, the Logos of God; this fundamental conception of the Gospel has indeed its roots in the apostolic age, with Paul, but the strong advocacy of its metaphysical importance, the union of the metaphysical and the historical, and the stress laid on the incarnation, as if it were God contained in the appearance of a man, remind us of a more advanced standpoint, of the epistle to the Hebrews, which has a much later date than is usually supposed, of the sermon of Peter, the first epistle of Clement, and most of all, as we have already seen, of the epistle of Barnabas, compared with which the theories of the expounders of the Logos, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, even the epistles of Ignatius, are evidently much later, and especially in their confutation of the apparent humanity.† But the clearest light

ad. Traj. (10, 97): neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est. Comp. Joh. iv. 35.

* *καινὸς νομὸς*, Barn. 2 = *ἐντολὴ καινὴ*, Joh. xiii. 34. *λαὸς καινὸς*, Barn. 7. Comp. Joh. x. 16, xi. 52. As to 1 Clement. comp. Hilgenfeld, Apost. Väter, 1853, p. 86. Comp. especially Ritschl. Altkath. Kirche, 2 Ed. p. 274.

† The apparent existence of the temple rites in the Epist. to Heb. (as it appears also in Jos. c. Ap. 1, 7; 2, 23; in the Epist. of Barnab. c. 7. I. Clem. 40. Just. Tryph. 107), is of itself no reason for retrograding its advanced and cultivated dogmatism, which is supported by so many other signs, to an earlier date than the second century. The Epist. to the Hebrews, the Epist. to Barnab., and the Gospel of John, stand in the same series of Alexandrian development. The preaching of Peter: *ἐν τῷ* II. *κ. εὕροις ἂν νόμον καὶ λόγον τὸν κύριον προσαγορευόμενον*. Clem. Strom. 1, 29. Fragm. 58. The controversy of Docetism in Ignatius is much more de-

is thrown upon the date, if we consider more exactly the motive, aim, and meaning of this higher Christology. The first epistle of John can throw light on this point. Whether we suppose it to be earlier or later than the Gospel—and we hold the firm conviction of the earliest critic, Dionysius of Alexandria, that it must be ascribed to the same author—in any case it is allied with the time and was composed in the essential spirit of the Gospel, which it fully recognises. We must believe that there was one motive for the origin of both.* The Gospel is content to establish the faith in Jesus as the Son of God, as the matter which most deeply concerns his readers. The epistle contains the reasons for this solemn declaration of the great confession, it sets forth the danger, the seething and brooding of the time, which on the one side is in revolt against the Son of God, and on the other cleaves to him, lest it should lose the blessing of Christianity, the communion with God, and life and heaven. There is not an iota of this doctrine to erase (as Godet also admits) in spite of all the empty assurances of commentators, which assert the truth of the Son of God in the epistle in contradiction to the thesis of the Gospel.† Which is the truth, which the denial of the Son of God in the time of the great apologist? The epistle speaks plainly. The spirit of error is abroad in the world, spirits have gone forth from the Church, born, not of God but of the world and the devil, since they are of the world and speak worldly things, cast down and shunned by the believers, and the most perilous deceivers, even Antichrists, many Antichrists, a sign of the supreme crisis, the last hour. They deny that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, which is the most solemn confession of the Gospel; and again, they deny that Jesus Christ is come

veloped: Jesus was really born of Mary, of the family of David, had eaten and drunk, was baptized, and really suffered. Comp. ad Trall. 9. Smyrn. 2, 3, 7.

* The distinctions (comp. Baur, Hilgenfeld), can be reconciled: since from the more idealized standpoint of the Evangelist, the slight shades of eschatology are not wanting. The conception and the language are too similar. Dion. a. Eus. 7, 25.

† p. 24.

in the flesh.* This is therefore a twofold denial, both of that which is in earth and in heaven, of the historical and of the metaphysical; the historical man, the son of Joseph and Mary, is not a divine and eternal being, and the divine eternal being, the Son of God, the higher Christ from above, has not become flesh nor an earthly man. It is therefore no debasing Christology, but it is, on the contrary, exalted although divided and dualistic, a severing of the Divine and human in the person of Jesus, a man who may not be God, a God who fears to be man.

We cannot doubt what to call this historical phenomenon. We cannot (with Jerome, Epiphanius, and recently with De Wette, Lücke, and Bleek) by any means suppose that it is merely Ebionite doctrine, with an unworthy view of the person of Jesus, since the contested Christology was humiliating only in one aspect, and again since Ebionite doctrine, with its truly Jewish and human Christ, had, as Justin and Irenæus show, a harmless and peaceable existence in the Church, until, with the end of the second century, the theoretic school of the Theodotians began, which was more aggressive and of greater worldly culture.† Yet the epistle itself says it: whoever does not of himself find this dualistic doctrine of Christ, to him the epistle appeals: "Whosoever saith, I *know* him, and keepeth not his commandments, the same is a liar." These are the "Gnostics" of the second century, this is the mighty phenomenon which so threatened the Church, the *Gnosis* which had diverged from Paul, as well as from Jewish Christianity.‡ There is nothing to hinder, but everything to favour the supposition that it was

* 1 Joh. iv. 3, ii. 18. The denial: Jesus not Christ nor the Son of God, ii. 22, v. 1, iv. 15, v. 5, 10. Or: Christ has not appeared in the flesh: iii. 1, iv. 2. 2 Joh. 7. The world, iv. 4. iii. 7, v. 5. Danger, iv. 4, ii. 26, iii. 7, iv. 1. Licence, iii. 7, iv. 4, v. 5. Comp. Brückner. Com. De Wette's, p. xviii: all polemic tendencies are imaginary.

† Hieron. catal. 9. Joannes novissimus omnium scripsit evangelium: adversus Cerinthum aliosque hereticos, et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens. Comp. Credner, Einl. p. 241. Interesting points of resemblance with the Artemonites and Theodotians, Eus. 5, 28. Comp. also for the Ebionites, Philos. 7, 34.

‡ ii. 4, iv. 8.

in its earliest development. For the statements in opposition to it, which became diffuse in later times, are still plain and simple, the epistle itself shows the novelty of the circumstances and the phenomena of both sides are in agreement.* Gnosticism appeared, according to Hegesippus, in the time of the Emperor Trajan, according to Clement of Alexandria, under Hadrian, and one of its most influential leaders, according to Irenæus, was Cerinthus, who, as Jerome and other later writers have maintained, was at that time active in Asia Minor and Ephesus.† Cerinthus taught, on the Alexandrian premisses, a dualistic God, a dualistic Christ: the world was not made by the supreme God, but by a subordinate power: Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, born like other men, raised above them by his righteousness and wisdom. At his baptism, the Christ, the spiritual and the passionless descended upon him in the form of a dove, from the Most High God, empowering him to proclaim the unknown God, and to work miracles, but departing from him in his passion, so that it was only Jesus, and not Christ, who suffered and rose again.‡ Together with the stress laid on the spiritual Christ, Cerinthus, as a true Jewish Christian, asserted his belief in the millennium of the kingdom of God in Jerusalem, which should be filled with bridal joy: Dionysius of Alexandria, has, in his speculations, declared that he was himself exceedingly "carnal," and has sought the deceitful power of his doctrine in this fleshliness.§ Let us now turn to the Epistle and to the Gospel. They are the evident, acute and comprehensive answer to this Cerinthus: Jesus is

* Now is the Antichrist, they have gone out from us. 1 Joh. ii. 19.

† Heges. a. Eus. 3, 32. Iren. 3, 11, 1: Joanni domini discipulus volens per ev. annunciationem auferre eum, qui a *Cerintho* inseminatus erat hominibus errorem, et prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitae, &c. Comp. Hier. cat. 9.

‡ Iren. 1, 26, 1. Philos. 7. 7, 33. 10, 21. Egyptian culture (thrice). Against Lipsius, Gnosis, Ersch and Gruber. Against the revolans in fine Christus de Jesu it may be thought that Joh. xii. 28, is directed: the δόξα Θεοῦ appears also in the passion.

§ Dion. Alex. a. Eus. 3, 28: ὧν αὐτὸς ὡρέγετο φιλοσώματος ὢν καὶ πάνυ σαρκινός.

Christ, Christ is Jesus: Christ from above possesses the divine glory, and is as such the Creator of the world, but Christ from above cannot be distinguished from him who was on earth; he is not distinct from Jesus, but one and the same, not fleeting hither and thither, but walking and dwelling in the flesh; he went even unto death, but he fills the earth, the flesh and blood, the whole person of Jesus, whom he himself is: and not only the person of Jesus but the believers, who are born of God, not of the lust of the world, are filled in life and death and resurrection with divine life and glory. The Gospel therefore is finally illuminated with purpose and meaning from this confutation of the dualism of Cerinthus, and of his own spiritualism which has been turned to carnality: the evangelist also "knoweth" and is a "Gnostic," who willingly admits the highest, boldest speculations concerning the Christ which is above, the manifestation of the invisible God, but will destroy the false distinction, the Gnostic docetism, (apparent humanity) which is perilous to the person of Christ, and to the union of God and the world, which deprive the world of the Father and the Son: he as an Alexandrine disputes against the Alexandrine, he is closely connected with Philo, and even goes beyond him, since he preaches the perfect, indwelling God, whom his religion preaches to him, even if his knowledge can only modify, not solve the contradictions. This assumption is confirmed by the application which Irenæus makes of this Gospel against Cerinthus (and at the same time against the legendary Nicolaitans), as well as by the many ways in which the Church connects the names of Cerinthus and of John.*

Some of the later school of critics have indeed not only admitted the reference to Cerinthus, or, as Baur will have it, to Gnosticism in general, but to the later and more important forms

* Comp. not only the story of the meeting between John and Cerinthus in the baths at Ephesus (Iren. 3, 3, 4), but also the legend mentioned by Dionis. Alex. in the third century, that Cerinthus was the author of the Revelation, and had affixed John's name to it. (Eus. 3, 28.) In the same manner the so-called Alogi of Epiph. ascribed the writings of John to Cerinthus.

of the doctrine, as it was taught by Valentinus and Marcion. Hilgenfeld declares that the Gospel had its origin in the controversy with the Gnosticism which was passing from the doctrine of Valentinus to that of Marcion, Volkmar connects it with both schools, but especially with Marcion.* These surmises are overthrown by the chronology. Valentinus flourished, as we have seen, between 140-160, Marcion was in his zenith towards 160, and by that time the Gospel was, according to all appearances, already current. If then, in order to make the reference to Valentinus credible, we must bear in mind his doctrine of the Logos, what were the highest conceptions of the Only-begotten, the Truth, the Life, the Paraclete, and some other similar terms, the means by which the world passed over to God, and the apparent humanity of Christ, it is on the other hand palpably clear how far John is removed from this metaphysical dualism, the root of this lofty and yet visionary scheme of doctrine, as well as from its result in the endless elaborations of the emanations, since he knew nothing of the Pleroma, the Æons, and the hermaphrodite pairs, nor yet of the slow machinery of the entrance of God into the finite which is full of contradictions, so that he is undoubtedly much more ancient, and himself, as Irenæus intimates, the foundation of such a scheme: if we were to say with Hilgenfeld that he had set about the work of simplifying this Gnosticism, as it was first apparent in its decline, and therefore much later, he must have set about it in a wholly different way, since the conception of the Logos in the Valentinian sect had not in any point of view the same meaning which is to be found in John.†

* Comp. Hilgenfeld, das Ev. und die Briefe Johannes nach ihrem Lehrbegriff, 1849. Die Evangelien, 1854, p. 332. Volkmar, Religion Jesu, 1857, p. 433. Origin, p. 153.

† Irenæus has already to some extent called our attention to this, since he says (as to the Gnostics): initium quidem esse Monogenem, Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti, 3, 11, 1. Iren. has found that Val. was *objectively* confuted by the Gospel, but there is nothing said of direct reference. Contrary to Volkmar, 152. On the subject of the Monistic development of Gnosticism, comp. Marcion, compared with the earlier Gnosticism, Apelles in comparison with Marcion, the book of Pistis Sophia in comparison with the earlier Ophitism. Comp. Köstlin, Das Gnost. System des Buches Pistis Sophia. Theol. Jahrb. 1854.

On this point the later Marcion would be more possible, since he cut off the endless births of the Æons, but established the two-fold nature of a good and a righteous God as the divine powers of the world, and proclaimed the triumph of the first over the second, over the God of the Jews, and his limited law. Yet where does John set forth only the opposition between the good and the righteous God, where does he set forth, as it has been asserted, Judaism as for the most part the kingdom of darkness, since he has rather declared that the one God, and even the Logos himself, sent Moses and the Prophets, but the nation, contrary to the eternal plan of the only God, had blinded itself? This theory is proved to be untenable, when single passages, such as the famous one in John viii. 44, is interpreted in the Gnostic sense, as it was taught by Valentinus and Marcion. If Jesus had then declared that the Jews were of their father the devil, meaning the Gnostic demiurgus, whose lusts they were desirous to follow, the demiurgus would not only have been introduced in a surprising manner, he would also apppear in a character which is opposed to all the definitions of Valentinus and Marcion, since he was in their view not the lustful, lying and murderous colleague of the devil, but his opposite, the advocate of justice and order. The opponent of liberal science has suggested these forced and artificial explanations in his dread of modern criticism.*

These were however sharp-sighted endeavours, such as we have seldom experienced on the part of our opponents, which were made by this school in order to confuse all the historical relations of the last Gospel, the meaning of which Baur wished to establish by proving its essential connection with all the great phenomena of thought in the second century,—his hunt after four or five hares, as Godet was pleased to say.† Schwegler, following the suggestions of Baur, has pronounced the Gospel to be a confutation inspired by the Montanist move-

* Comp. Hilgenfeld, Ev. 331. † P. 29.

ment, the great contemporary of Gnosticism in the storm-and-stress period of the Church, the practical beside the theoretical. And Volkmar has at the same time declared that the Montanists were opposed to the new Gospel.* There is, however, an inward connection between the Gospel of the spirit and those who spoke with the divine Spirit of prophecy in Phrygia; and it also became external through the ecclesiastical suspicion in which Montanism involved the Gospel, which was in some agreement with it, as Irenæus intimates.† If we leave undecided many points of resemblance, which are first historically shown in the much later Montanism of Tertullian, A.D. 200, yet the Spirit which was equal to the Father and the Son, if not indeed identical with them, the Judge and Comforter, (Paraclete), the revealer of the future, the breach with the world, the virginity which opposed the world, and again the name of Philip, of the forerunner in the spirit and purity of the world, are all proclaimed in the original Montanism; and Maximilla, the prophetess, has spoken in sayings which remind us of John: I am as it were a wolf, kept back from the sheep: I am no wolf, I am the word, the spirit, and the might.‡ Some passages of John (xv. 26, 27) may appear to show corrections of the original exaggerations. But chronology has already decided this point also. So far as we can trace, the obscure beginnings of Montanism first appear in the middle of the century, and it was at its height, and aroused the attention of the Christian world at the time of the persecutions under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 166-180), at the end of whose reign its chief leaders depart from the scene; in which time the Gospel was already in existence, and in which, moreover, the asceticism of Montanism had not yet arisen, for that,

* Comp. Volkmar, Rel. J. 441. Hippolytus, p. 112.

† Comp. Iren. 3, 11, 9.

‡ Comp. especially the old records in Eus. 5, 14-19: also 5, 1. Tertullian gives very interesting comments, Tertull. præscr. 52. Philos. 8, 19. Epiph. haer. 48. Comp. also Ritschl. Alt. Kath. Kirche, 488. Volkmar, Hippolytus, p. 45, 104.

as can be proved, only occurred at the close of the century.* Besides, it is not easy to understand how the conception of the Spirit, the Paraclete, should be the necessary result of Montanism, in which there is little that is theoretical, but it is rather wholly and rudely practical. Montanism itself points to its forerunners, and has received its conceptions from this Gospel, or from the surrounding churches, which had already been influenced by it. It is, finally, most improbable that a Gospel which is in its spirituality fundamentally opposed throughout to Montanism, in its marked materialism and grossness, both in its worship and its expectation of the future, should have received its inspiration from a sect which met with vehement opposition from some far less ideal minds in the Church. It is, therefore, much more intelligible that the Gospel conception of the Spirit should be connected with Paul and his theories of the Church, and further with the speculations of his more immediate contemporaries, such as the first Epistles of Clement and of Barnabas, and that the conception of the Paraclete should have more to do with its great teacher Philo than with Gnosticism or Montanism.

* Schwegler, der Montanismus, 1841, places its origin 140-150; Mosheim, 150; Walch, 170; Cave, 180. Ritschl assents to the Chronology of Schwegler, although here also fresh enquiry is necessary. Schwegler has, for example, plainly confused the anti-Montanist Apollonius with the martyr in Rome under Commodus, and has deduced conclusions in theology from this reign. *The obscure beginnings* may be assigned to about the year 150 (or with Apollonius, who writes between 170-180, and knows of 40 years), as early as 140, Eus. 5, 18. Comp. Epiph. at one time 135, then 157. It is in favour of this date that the Montanists claimed the succession of the Spirit from Quadratus (5, 17), in Hadrian's reign (4, 3, opp. 23). But its full success was not before 160-170. Justin is not acquainted with them (Tryph. 82, 87). The appearance of the famous prophetess Maximilla first occurred at the time of the persecution at Smyrna (5, 18, 24), *i.e.* 166, her death, according to the Anon. Eus. who wrote his second book about the year 193, about 180. At that time Montanus and Priscilla were already dead. The party cry appears to be still quite fresh in the year 177 (ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον), 5, 3. Miltiades and Apollinaris, the apologists before Marcus Aurelius, together with Melito and Athenagoras (cir. 177), have at that time first written against the Montanists—just beginning to flourish, as Eusebius says (4, 26, 27), also Bishop Soter of Rome (170-171), Prædest. haer. 26, 86. Also Celsus, who was acquainted with them (7, 9), writes about 177. Comp. Eus. Chron. 172.

In like manner we must reject the connection of time which Baur has found, between the day which John assigns to the death of Jesus, and the controversies about Easter, which took place in Asia Minor, in the second half of the second century.* These first appear about the year 160, at a time when the Gospel had been long in existence, on which account it was itself involved in the prevailing strife about the year 170. It must first be shown that the strife began much earlier, and that the assumption of the Gospel, which can be easily explained from Paul, and from the attraction to freedom from the law, was connected with such a controversy. There is only this connection, that the ensuing controversy found its standpoint in the Gospel, and in its general encouragement of the freedom of the Gentile Christians.

While therefore the ancients, and recently Ewald and Weizsäcker, as well as Tischendorf, who thinks that all the four Gospels "must" have been extant soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, have fixed the origin of the fourth Gospel at the close of the first century, the Tübingen school has, with many variations, supposed that it took place in the latter half of the second century, 160-170; we maintain that it was, according to all appearance, at the beginning of the second century, the time of that Emperor Trajan, in whose reign John, according to Irenæus, must have lived, about A.D. 110-115.†

η. *The Author.*

Ecclesiastical antiquity has almost unanimously named the Apostle John as the author of the Gospel. But it must not be overlooked that this assertion first appears at the end of the second century (Theophilus, cir. A.D. 180), and that the first more exact account of this authorship which was made at that time in the Fragment of Muratori is of a legendary character.

* Hilgenfeld also firmly maintains, Kanon, 176: the Gospel was issued on account of the controversies which were rife about A.D. 160. Also Volkmar, Rel. J. 445.

† Tischendorf: Wann wurden uns. Ev. verfasst? 1865, p. 49. Volkmar's Confutation of this treatise (Urspr. uns. Ev. 1866), is striking on many points. He assigns 150-160.

Much may appear to speak in favour of the author being an Apostle, and also of his being John: the Hebrew cast of speech, which does not, as Baur and his successors think, show any traces of a Gentile Christian, the author's knowledge of the Old Testament in its original tongue, and his acquaintance with Jewish customs and places, and also with every detail of the idea of the Messiah, which Weizsäcker thought particularly significant: throughout there is the intimation of having witnessed the occurrences, together with the intuitive knowledge of facts which has been so greatly praised, and the bold and free contradiction of other traditions, as well as the spirit of fire and love, seem to be in character with the beloved disciple, the Son of Thunder. Nor are points wanting in the Gospel which agree with the later history of John, as it has, on the authority of Irenæus, been commonly related since the end of the second century, as to his residence in Asia Minor, in Ephesus, which was the metropolis of the Pauline doctrine: we have here the Evangelist of the Dispersion, the advocate of the rights of the Greeks, the herald of the abolition of the law, the opponent of the errors of Cerinthus, as they had appeared in the church of Ephesus in Asia Minor.

Our belief that the Apostle was the author of the Gospel is however quite destroyed by the foregoing discussion. Could an Apostle who succeeded Luke and Mark diverge so far from the correct tradition about Jesus, alter it so arbitrarily, and confuse the memorials of him like a chance medley, instead of maintaining those which were most faithful? Could an Apostle in the second century, broken down by age, write a Gospel which is overflowing with life and spirit, and adapted to the spirit of the times? Did the Apostle still survive, since the Revelation of John which was written about the year 70, as well as the Gospel of Luke and Mark, between A.D. 80-100, believe that the Apostles were dead?* Add to this, that the traces of an eye-

* Rev. xviii. 20, xxi. 24. On the other hand, the fact that Hegesippus, as early as the days of Domitian, was hardly able to point out the *grandchild* of Judas, the

witness and of John in the Gospel, are very faint. This has long been observed, although Godet even at this day slurs lightly over it. In the first place, that "which our own eyes have witnessed," at the beginning of the Gospel, as well as of the epistle, is just what any Christian might assume. But where the witness is one individual, (as xix. 35) it is remarkable that a long testimony to the truth is set forth, and that in the spurious addition (xxi. 24) by a third person, who is quite distinct from the eye-witness, this testimony is repeated: and for this reason, after the long disputes about the passage, xix. 35, Weizsäcker has abandoned this proof, and even Ewald finds in this important passage that it is not so much the personal testimony of John, as that of his secretary, who was in short the third person. This reticence as to the eye-witness, which has been already noticed by Bretschneider, may show that the author could not in fact boast of the full testimony of an eye-witness, that he depended on one, or perhaps merely appealed to him, in order to be supported by a great name in bringing forward his great and even life-like view of the entrance of God into the world.* This reticence is shown as to the mention of the name itself. John is no where openly declared to be the author, except in the appendix, when the third person speaks of him: in the Gospel he is only lightly, and delicately indicated, and on this the Church was afterwards able to supply the needs of its faith in establishing this authorship. Although even Luthardt, after a

brother of Jesus (and that indeed as a remarkable fact). Eus. 3, 30, speaks against the assertion of surviving Apostles, which had been believed since the time of Irenæus. At the same time he undoubtedly mentions Simeon, the Bishop in Jerusalem, who, as well as the grandchildren, died in Trajan's reign, and was a *cousin* of Jesus, but he was unacquainted with any surviving Apostle: the Apostles, and indeed the eye-witnesses generally, had died out at that time, and when Gnosticism was beginning to flourish in Trajan's time.

* Comp. Ewald, p. 48. Weizsäcker, p. 238. The passage, xix. 35, has given occasion to an interesting dispute as to the use of the pronoun ἐκεῖνος (that one!) chiefly between Hilgenfeld, together with A. Buttmann (Stud. u. Krit. 1859, 497, and again, 1861). Comp. Hilg. Zeitschr. 1859, 414; 1860, 505; 1861, 313; 1862, 204. Also, Hilg. Kanon, 1863, 230.

critical consideration, supposed that John wished to conceal himself, in the consciousness of his great "subjectivity," this "modest" reserve of the author has at this day been prized as a sign of his complete and genuine antiquity: a pretender would have made free use of the name of John.* But does Ewald forget that one passage explains the other, and that the third person, who veils the author in his most important passage, had otherwise reason to veil him, who was great because unknown. So that it may be gravely assumed, that John, who is in one or two places in the Gospel slightly introduced, was not so introduced by a third person, but by the author himself. In that case he has represented himself in a surprising manner, as the specially beloved disciple of Jesus, preferred even before Peter, and acting as Peter's patron and mediator, and as the only man of heroism before the judgment and at Golgotha.† The veil cast over the connection between John and the author is only modest and delicate as long as the author is not identical with the beloved disciple, who is sedulously distinguished in a manner at variance with history. If they are both one person, we have, as Weisse has also observed, a specimen of the most objectionable self-glorification, the moral condemnation of the vanity of an Apostle.

We must go further, and ask more precisely what relation the evangelist bears to the John of history. The Apostle Paul is the most certain authority for that which concerns the Apostle John. He does not leave it doubtful, that John as the third person was, together with Peter and James, a leading advocate of the bias in favour of Jewish Christianity which prevailed at Jerusalem, which had as a principle of religion, and more or less in opposition to Paul, preached the Gospel of circumcision, that is, in the forms of the law, and the national privileges. This division in the apostolate is distinctly defined and confirmed by the apostolic council of about the year 53, it was still in

* Ewald, p. 48. † Comp. only xiii. 23, xviii. 15, xix. 26, xx. 2.

existence in the year 58, at the time of the epistle to the Corinthians, and even Paul's later epistles show that it continued to the end of his ministry, and perhaps became more acrid.* It may be admitted that John perhaps shared Peter's gentler views, and yet more, that in the fifty years which followed the apostolic council, he left Jerusalem on a mission to the scattered Jews, and perhaps even to those who had left Palestine, as may appear from the first epistle to the Corinthians. But while the latest theology blandly dispenses with the results of modern criticism, which they call antiquated and confuted, although the confuter has not yet appeared, yet it is one of the most incontestable results of scientific enquiry into the apostolic age, that the bearing of the old Apostles continued to be Jewish and legal in its Christianity, and among them John and even Peter must be included, who, under the influences of the Past and of the present state of Jerusalem, underwent a reaction from his decided adhesion to Pauline doctrine, and this is admitted by Lechler and Ritschl, together with their unfortunate compromises.†

Is it at all probable that the Apostle of Jewish Christianity should, after the death of Paul and the destruction of Jerusalem, have gone over to the Pauline party, with sounding music and flying colours? that he, who about the year 70 was certainly a man of sixty years old, should have broken with all the

* Comp. Gal. ii. 9, 1 Cor. i. 12, ix. 2, xv. 9. Of the later Epistles, comp. the Epis. Phil. A.D. 63-64, which represents Paul as standing alone against Jewish-Christianity, i. 15, iii. 2. I must also observe that I do not identify this Apostle with those who were pharisaically zealous at Jerusalem, nor believe that they were inclined to agree with Paul, nor do I refer the "exceedingly great Apostles," and indeed the "false Apostles" of 2 Cor. xi. 13, to them, Hilg. Zeitschr. 1862, 262, does so point to the "exceeding great," and speaks, p. 254, of the failure of the attempt at any tolerable surmise.

† Bleek's weak, and unhistorical account may be read on the other side. Einl. 121. I hope, in a history of the Apostolic age, to justify these statements with greater exactness. As long as Ritschl and Lechler advocate statements such as these, the Apostles were on principle indifferent to the law, and only maintained it as an external, national and social ordinance, (comp. Ritschl. Altkath. K. 1857,) so long they are not only in the track of Neander, (Pflanzung. p. 909,) but also of Hoffmann, N. T. I. iii.

religious principles of his youth, his manhood, and his ministry? that in the rending of Jewish bonds, both in his opposition to the Jews, who had become strangers to him, and indeed to God, and to "their law," the law which was without hope, he should have gone beyond Paul himself, who had stood alone, as the foremost champion of freedom, and who, while regardless of consequences, was yet full of reverence for the law and the nation?* Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, and in this saying that which is old goes round once more, and becomes new: but a greater mockery of all history, and of psychological probability was never found than this opinion of the easy conversion of one who had grown old in Judaism, into an Apostle whose freedom excelled that of Paul, the one universally known asserter of that principle; this is an opinion which makes light of facts, and dishonours an Apostle, while it stamps the instability of the character and the principles of modern thought.

If we add the evidence of the Revelation of John and of the Gospels of Luke and Mark to that of Paul, they conclusively prove that John was considered, up to the year 70 and even to the year 100, as an Apostle whose principles were those of strict Jewish Christianity. It is not, indeed, credible that the Revelation was the work of the Apostle John himself, so that we cannot, with the school of Baur, deduce from the evident and strict Jewish Christianity of this authentic work of John, that the Gospel which differs from it so much is spurious: for the Revelation of John, the work of the "prophet," forbids us in every particular to consider it the work of the Apostle.† But it sets forth the twelve, and therefore also John, as united

* Even Godet, p. 17: complete freedom from legal forms and a universalism, which is in nothing inferior to that of Paul. In like manner Riggenbach, p. 17.

† Bleek, Lücke, Ewald, have also accepted this. The author calls himself *only* a servant, i. 1, xxii. 6: a fellow-worker, i. 9: a prophet of the Church with the spirit of the prophets, xxii. 6, ix. 10. He speaks objectively of the Apostles, and indeed of the holy Apostles, those who had died, and were condemned to death by Rome, (only not precisely Peter and Paul,) xviii. 20, xxi. 14.

in thought, and as pillars of the Jewish Jerusalem of the future, and on the other hand it is evidently opposed to the position of Paul, which it shakes and contradicts.* But Luke and Mark have in two instances, as well as in the name "Sons of Thunder," pointed out the stormy spirit of a Jewish zealot in John, without being impelled, on the strength of a so-called conversion, which they must have survived and observed, to seek for an explanation, modification and adjustment, or to interpolate a passage which might supply other matter, as they well understood how to do. On the contrary, although they were not inserted in the oldest Gospel, they have given just those histories which were wholly characteristic of the Apostle in the memory of the time, and while they evidently declare the death of the Apostles, they have not even left open the possibility of further development in the future.†

But in defiance of these authorities, the Apostle must "in the crisis of the apostolic faith," as Reville has at one time supposed, and then again denied, have so far developed as to become the Apostle of the Gospel.‡ It has been possible with Lücke to consider that the destruction of Jerusalem, the entrance into the bereaved churches which had been planted by Paul, even into the highly cultivated Greek Ephesus, in spite of Rev. ii. 2, had purified John from Jewish dross into Pauline, and super-Pauline doctrine, and had also enriched him by the study of Philo, and of Gnostic speculations. Even Schenkel leaves this explanation open.§ Let us no longer dispute whether it was possible, but only as a compromise, whether it was actually the case. That is: did John survive the end of the first, and the beginning of the second century, was he in Asia Minor, was he in Ephesus? An account of the second century has indeed supplied the material for this assumption, and has, without

* We cannot indeed go as far as Volkmar in seeking Paul in the false prophet, c. xiii, which is very arbitrary, but in the letters sent, especially in that to Ephesus, (ii. 2,) the reference to Paul and his followers is not to be mistaken. Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 12, and even Acts xv. 25. As to the disputes in Ephesus, see Rom xvi. 17-20.

† Luke ix. 49-51, Mark iii. 17, ix. 38. ‡ Comp. Godet, p. 55. § P. 33.

deducing psychological and bold conclusions from the bare fact of his residence in Ephesus, given unsought the explanation of the great change, the solution of embarrassing difficulties.

But it is necessary to be exact. Until the end of the second century, it will be in vain to seek for the Apostle John in Asia Minor. The New Testament, down to its latest contributors, and primarily the Acts of the Apostles, which was written long after the destruction of Jerusalem, is wholly silent on this point, and so also are the letters of Ignatius, dating from the latter half of the second century, both the three and the seven epistles, not merely the epistle to Smyrna, but that to Polycarp and Ephesus: Polycarp, in the epistle to Philippi is also silent, and the history of the sufferings in Smyrna, under Marcus Aurelius, says nothing of an Apostle John in Asia Minor, still less of an Apostle John, who became later the dearest possession of a church which had formerly (up to 170) cared to mention and listen to the name of Paul.*

In the shorter and mythical account of the martyrdom of Ignatius, which was later by a century, we first find Ignatius and Polycarp, who were of Asia Minor, entitled the scholars of the Apostle John, an error which Eusebius himself knew how to estimate.† There is a positive as well as a negative proof. The Bishop Papias of Hierapolis in Phrygia, near Ephesus, the contemporary and friend of Polycarp of Smyrna, who was born about A.D. 80-90, and lived after the time of Trajan, and according to the Alexandrine record of martyrs, to about the year 161-163, a relic of a by-gone age, a storehouse, and a zealous collector of the oldest tradition, had, according to his own saying, which defies modern misrepresentation, neither

* Smyrn. ep. a. Eus. 4, 15, S. Polyc. ad Philipp. 3. 9, 11. Ignat. ad Eph. 12: only Paul above all. This "favourable" phenomenon was already perceived by Bleek, (Beiträge, pp. 89. 257,) and Grimm, Ersch and Gruber, Art. John ii. sect. 22, Th. 1843, but are content with the argument, ex silentio and the like. Bleek appeals to the genuine Ignatius of Cureton, where Eph. 12 is wanting. This is indeed a faint support, even if the Cur. Ignatius could be confidently maintained.

† Ignat. Mart. 1, 3. Hilgenfeld, Apost. Väter, 212, assigns these earlier shorter acts to the fourth century. Eusebius in the Chron. calls Ignatius the disciple of the Apostle, but not in the K. G. (3. 22, 36.)

been personally acquainted with an Apostle John in Asia Minor, nor supposed that John had been there: on the other hand, he was once in his early life actually connected with one Aristion, and with a Presbyter John, who had been disciples of the Lord, and witnesses of the early matters.* From these men, who had themselves been connected with the men of old, he had received information as to what Andrew or Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord had said; as well as what Aristion, and the Presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord had said. Therefore he had not seen an Apostle, he had only spoken with the disciples and companions of the men of old (by whom he here means the Apostles), and when he obtained information about the Apostles, John, the assumed head of the neighbouring town of Ephesus, did not stand first, but almost last in the series of Apostles, as far removed from Asia Minor as Matthew, of whose connection with that place the Church knows nothing. The expression of the passage is in favour of the supposition that Papias himself had not personally known the disciples of the Lord who survived to his time, namely Aristion and John the old,—unquestionably quite another man from the Apostle, and especially since he appears after Aristion: but Eusebius, who was acquainted with the manuscript of Papias, asserts that he often appeals to them, calling himself indeed a listener to both, but this is perhaps gathered by Eusebius from such an appeal.†

* Iren. haer. 5, 33. 4. Eus. 3, 36, 39. In both *ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ*, the friend of Polycarp. Since he was 80 in 166, (Hilg. Paschastreit, p. 241,) Eus. 4, 15, he must be reckoned as after the date of the birth of Papias. His death. Chron. Pasch. ed. Dind. 1. 481.

† Eus. 3, 39: *οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἐμαθον—συγκατάξαι. Εἰ δὲ που καὶ παρηκολουθηχώς τις τοῖς πρέσβυτεροις ἐλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβ. ανέκριναν λόγους. τι Ανδρέας ἢ τι Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τι Φίλιππος ἢ τι Θωμᾶς ἢ Ιωάννης ἢ Ματθαίος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἅ τε Αριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ιωάννης, οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσι.* We cannot here enter into a detailed examination. But where there is a sense of truth, it has been found since the time of Eusebius that there were two Johns, both disciples of the Lord, the one an Apostle, the other not, the one dead, the other living in the time of Papias. Self-deceit and want of truth have confounded the two into one. The *πρεσβύτεροι* are clearly as with Irenæus (seniores)

This information breaks through all obscurity; it shows that the Apostle John was not in Asia Minor, and it also allows us to anticipate, that in later times, a desire which was common to Asia Minor, as well as to Corinth or to Rome, to possess Apostles, who handed down a pure tradition in opposition to Gnosticism, had confounded with the Apostle John, that John, who evidently belonged to Asia Minor, "the old," or "the presbyter," who went back to the Apostles, and even to the Lord himself, and came down to the second century.

It was thus, in fact, that it happened. From the joint effect of misconceptions and of the necessities of the time, Irenæus, who was a native of Asia Minor, first proclaimed John the Apostle of Asia Minor, about A.D. 190, in his treatise against heresies, written in the later years of the Roman bishop Eleutherus (170-190), in his epistle to the Roman bishop Victor (129-200), and in the epistle to the companion of his youth, the Gnostic Florinus.* From the mouth of Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna (ob. 166), and many elders, who were, with him, connected with John, he had heard as a boy, about A.D. 150-160, much that it was impossible to forget about John, the disciple of the Lord, who lived in Ephesus, as a follower of Paul in Asia Minor, wrote the Revelation and the Gospel, and died at a very great age, in the reign of the Emperor Trajan.†

But we are quickly able to trace the delusion of Irenæus, as he disastrously transferred it from his youth to his manhood, and as it has imposed upon the so-called apologists of modern times down to Tischendorf, as if it were a sacred

the men old in Christianity, among whom the Apostles and the Lord's disciples must be reckoned: hence came "John the old."

* Haer. 3, 3, 4. So again the Fragment ed. Stieren I. 822. Maintained by Eus. 5, 20, 24. Date of Irenæus' book, Iren. 3, 3, 5. Comp. Eus. 5, 1, 22. 28. The passage haer. 3, 3, 4. shows that since Polycarp of Smyrna (ob. 168) had already had a series of successors, we must think of the later years of the Roman Bishop Eleutherus.

† Comp. only haer. 2. 22, 5. 5, 30. 1. 33, 3. Boy, ad Florin. (παῖς ὤν) and haer. 3, 3. 4. Ephesus, 2. 22, 5. 3, 3, 4. Trajan, ib. Apocalypse, 5, 30. 3. Gospel, 3, 1, 1. 3, 11, 1.

truth.* According to the testimony of Irenæus himself, which is supported by Eusebius, Polycarp was the contemporary and friend of Papias.† Here the inquiry may at once be made: Polycarp was, with many others, an eye and ear witness of the Apostle John, and of many Apostles besides, down to the days of Irenæus: his contemporary, his neighbour and friend in Phrygia, had no such connection with this Apostle or any other Apostles; and without regard to Polycarp, who was a near witness, he laboriously collected the scattered traditions about the Apostle. This is a ground-work of impossibilities. Yet Irenæus explains himself. He has rightly called the John of Polycarp only a disciple of the Lord, not an Apostle, just as Papias has so often spoken of the presbyter John, the Lord's disciple.‡ And he goes further, calling Papias, as well as Polycarp, the disciple of John, who was again the disciple of the Lord.§ He knows nothing of a second John. In this is the explanation. Papias is not the disciple of the Apostle, but of another John, and Polycarp therefore is not the Apostle's disciple, but that of the other John, who was a disciple of the Lord. Eusebius has already succeeded in tracing the illusion of Irenæus, which he himself had at first carelessly shared. He has in his chronicle called Papias and Polycarp disciples of the Apostle, but in his church history he has shown his error in the case of Papias, although his courage has failed as to the correction of the latter error, the discipleship of Polycarp under the Apostle.‖ But Irenæus himself shows how far we are jus-

* Tischendorf. Ev. 7, 8.

† Iren. 5, 33, 4: *ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας, Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονὼς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ.* Eus. h. e. 3, 36, 39. Chron. Olymp. 220: Joannem ap. usque ad Trajani tempora permansisse Irenæus tradit. Post quem ejusdem auditores agnoscebantur Papias Jeropolitanus et Polycarpus.

‡ Jo. discipulus domini, 2, 22, 5. 5, 33, 3. *Μαθητὴς, κυρίου*, 3, 1, 1. 3, 4. 11, 1. 5, 26, 1. Together with the confusion, *e.g.* Epis. to Victor: *Πολύκ. ἄτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, οἷς συνδιετρίψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκώς.* haer. 2, 22, 5.

§ 5, 33, 4.

‖ S. the passages of the Chron. (p. 163,) and on the other hand Eus. h. e.

tified in untying this knot. A second and a third fundamental error are allied with the first. Eusebius has referred the apocalyptic and chiliastic dreams of Papias to Aristion and to the presbyter John; Irenæus has, on his side, ascribed these same contemplations and sayings in Papias to the Apostle John. Eusebius adds that Papias, with his assumed traditions from John, was responsible for the chiliastic errors of Irenæus and others.* We can see that the relations of persons and things correspond: the chiliastic John of Irenæus is completely the same with the chiliastic John of Papias. Finally, the John of Papias, as well as the John of Polycarp, lived in Asia Minor, survived to be an old man in the time of Trajan, until the end of the first or perhaps to the beginning of the second century (for how otherwise could Papias have been his hearer?), so that the strange pair (*Doppelgänger*) coincide so entirely in name, in title, in age, in locality, and in principles, that the question can only remain open to stupidity or prejudice whether the pair were not in fact one.

After Irenæus, a belief in the Apostle of Asia Minor was indeed quickly diffused, and especially outside Asia Minor. We need only mention Tertullian, Clement and Origen, Eusebius and Jerome. The Revelation of John (Easter. 69) contributed to this belief. Recognised from the time of Justin Martyr down to Irenæus and the greater fathers as a work of the Apostle, it spoke plainly enough of Asia Minor and Ephesus; and Apollonius (cir. A.D. 170-180) was able to tell of a man in Ephesus whom John—not indeed defined as the Apostle, but as the writer of the Apocalypse—had raised from the dead.† Asia Minor naturally favoured the belief, and Irenæus was not, from the first,

3. 39: Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρειληφέναι 'Αριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου ἀυτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησὶ γενέσθαι. ὀνομαστὶ γ' οὖν. . . . But while he clearly recognizes the error of Irenæus as to Papias, he wrote, satisfied about Polycarp τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητής. Eus. 3. 36.

* Iren. haer, 5. 33. 4. Eus. 3, 39.

† Apollon. ap. Eus. 5, 18. The date of the Antimontan. authors, 154.

the only one in error. Thus Polycrates, the Bishop of Ephesus, among the foremost of the men of Asia Minor, and the successor of seven bishops, in the controversy about the Passover (A.D. 190-200) tells the Roman bishop Victor that John was among the great lights of the Church of Asia Minor, together with Philip, one of the twelve disciples, and his virgin daughters; and that this John, who had done mighty acts, and had died at Ephesus, was the same who had leaned on the Lord's breast, who was a priest, and had borne the sacerdotal frontlet, and became a martyr.* But it is not difficult for criticism to discover the great historical weakness in the rhetoric of the Bishop of Ephesus, of which an infatuated dogmatism was eager to drink, as if it were a stream of truth. What he gives are only fantastic pictures, gleaned out of the Revelation and the Gospel. He has made Philip into an Apostle, in contradiction of the earliest testimony, and has assigned a grave to one of his daughters in Ephesus, although Philip and his four daughters were, according to Proclus, buried in Hierapolis.† Finally, he has not ventured to call John an Apostle; he has strangely ranked him below Philip and his four daughters, and has, on the other hand, placed him in connection with Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, Papirius, Melito, who were of a later, and indeed of a comparatively late date; on which account Hitzig and Wieseler have already suspected that he was confounded with the presbyter John.‡ It is really most remarkable, as a sign of the tenacity of the historical existence of the presbyter John, that the recollection of his ministry continued to be unshaken. Irenæus and Polycrates were able to

* Eus. 3, 31. 5, 24.

† The names remind us both of the Gospel (xii. 23), and of the Revelation, i. 6, 9, vii. 3, xiv. 1, xxii. 4. Philip with his daughters, not the Philip of the Acts, viii. 1, xxi. 8. So again, Papias, Eus. 3, 39. Proclus, 3, 31. Graves. Eus. 3, 61.

‡ Wieseler, des Papias Zeugniss. u. d. Presb. Joh. Theolog. Mitarbeiten, 1840, 113. (comp. Jachmann. ib. 1839) Hitzig, Joh. Markus, 1843, p. 5. Otherwise comp. Credner, Einl. Lücke, Comm. John. Gass. Ap. John. Presb. in Herzog.

absorb him into the Apostle. Later writers, incapable of establishing their precise identity, have sought to distinguish the two, and thus to solve some difficulties in the New Testament. Dionysius of Alexandria (in the middle of the third century) knows of distinct Johns, and of two Ephesian monuments. Eusebius takes up the account afresh, seeking the presbyter in the second grave, in accordance with Papias, and indicating that he was the author of the Revelation, and Jerome has expressed this surmise of Eusebius more positively, saying, however, at the same time, that some, again dispensing with the Presbyter, take the two graves for monuments of the one Apostle.* The Apostolic Constitutions mention, in close connection with the Aristion (Ariston) of Papias, a John who was Bishop of Ephesus, a follower of Timothy, and of the Apostles, especially of John, who was selected to install him in his office.†

Until to-day this has been the double course of the two who bore one name. Only the attempt of Lützelberger, which was somewhat too stormy, to remove the Apostle John from proconsular Asia (1840) has not succeeded in calling attention to the watchful criticism in Eusebius: on the contrary one member of the critical school, Schwegler, has, almost as earnestly as Wilibald Grimm, who is on this occasion hasty, corrected this inconsiderate man, and his infatuated criticism.‡ The critical school has, on the contrary, down to Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, very eagerly maintained that the Apostle was in Asia Minor, and that he might at the same time, by means of his connection with the controversy about Easter in Asia Minor, have been a useful ally in the opposition to the fourth Gospel, and on the other hand the nebulous presbyter is ridiculed: this is indeed no sign of historical criticism, which is at the same

* Dion. ap. Eus. 7, 25. Eus. 3, 39. Hier. cat. 9. † 7, 46.

‡ Lützelberger die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes und seine Schriften in ihrer Grundlosigkeit nachgewiesen, 1840. Comments of Schwegler's Theol. Jahrb. 1842. 293. Grimm.

time exercised with brilliant learning by Baur and Hilgenfeld in their opposition to the apparent proofs of Weitzel and Steitz in the controversy about the passover, which are also accepted by Bleek.* On the other hand, the weak side of the argument has not been overlooked by Lücke, Grimm, Wieseler and others: but while it is painfully admitted that the early confusion may have attained great dimensions, they have, in their attachment to the Gospel, dwelt on the "most certain tradition" of the Ephesian bishopric with a rhetoric and persistence which threatens to become wearisome, and since it is impossible, with Guerike, Hengstenberg and Lange, and of late with Zahn and Riggenbach, to extinguish the unwished for presbyter, whose existence however is admitted by Tischendorf, as well as that of the Apostle, the enquiry has diverged into the harmless question, which is answered in very different ways, as to whether the presbyter succeeded the Apostle or the Apostle the presbyter in the stronghold of Ephesus. We have in the foregoing discussion dismissed one of the two Johns, and it remains to be seen whether any one will venture to resuscitate him, and to make fresh misuse of the text of Papias.†

* S. Hilgenfeld, Ev. 339. Kanon. 229. Zeitschrift, 1861, 312. Remarks of Ewald in lit. Centralblatt, 1862. Volkmar, Comm. Apoc. 39. Passafeier. the conclusive work of Hilg. Passastreit, 1860. Also his treatise: Der Quarto decimanismus Klein-Asiens und die kanon. Evangelien in Zeitschr. wiss. Theol. 1861. Even Bleek (Einl. 160), cannot assent to the refinements of Weitzel and of Steitzen, which result in placing the John of Asia Minor, together with his Judaizing feast of the Passover on a level with the anti-judaizing evangelists.

† Zahn has in Theol. studien, 1866, 649, repeated the unsuccessful attempt to lose the presbyter in the Apostle. He might have spent talents and diligence to better purpose. He slurs over the interpretation of the passage as well as over the testimony of Eusebius. He finds it possible that the Apostle was only named twice, once in the number of the Apostles, the second time as surviving, and Papias still accessible. No word is to be lost here: the Apostle, the living stronghold of correct tradition, past and present at once, John and presbyter, among the Apostles at the close, and finally mentioned after the obscure Aristion! The attempt is completely futile, on the strength of late tradition and doubtful readings, to make use of Apollinarius as a witness for the Apostle's presence in Asia Minor, and finally not even to know whether the elder or the younger Apollinarius of the 4th century,

Since the attempt to transplant the Apostle John to Asia Minor has, according to all historical reasoning, broken down, which is indeed decided not only as far as the Gospel is concerned, but also as to the Revelation, and especially as to the revelation of the assumed Apostle concerning Ephesus, the last support for the composition of the Gospel by the son of Zebedee is withdrawn. There is no proof nor indeed any sufficient explanation of the great conversion to the doctrine of Paul, and of Philo, for the connection with Gnosticism in the form it had assumed in Asia Minor under Cerinthus, nor finally for such an infinitely long duration of life: it must therefore be said that the world is great, even without Ephesus, and the change, (according to Luthardt's statement), possible, and therefore that it actually occurred.

If the Gospel was not written by the Apostle John, it would at all events be the most reasonable deduction to think that it was composed by men of his society, his school and his tradition, whether they are to be called as in old times presbyters, or, as in modern phrase, secretaries. This twofold form would explain at once the merits and the defects of the Gospel: on which account Ewald and Weizsäcker have recently revived it; Renan, and even Schenkel know that there was an Ephesian school of John's disciples, and Nicolas brings his presbyter John, and Tobler his Apollos, as the author of the Gospel, into connection with the Apostle John.* But these are expedients, and the theory of secretaries for the New Testament has never been successful. It is palpably clear, that the men who received the tradition from John, would be as little able as himself to alter so radically the actual history and its real principles, so that the problem is presented to us again, only in a blunter form. But is not its solution close at hand? Since

who, as a Chiliast, might be most suitable, but on account of his century will not prove that the tradition is correct. It is intelligible that Riggenbach should so far agree with Zahn.

* Comp. Tobler. Die ev. Frage. 1858. Mich. Nicolas. Revue german. 1863. April, June. Comp. Godet Comm. zu Joh. Auszug v. Wirz. 1866. p. 32.

the Apostle is not the author, why not John the presbyter, whom we can really grasp, and who was himself in some sense a disciple of the Lord? How much is suitable: his abode, his time, perhaps even his controversy with Cerinthus: and does not the New Testament itself indicate him, the second and third Epistles of John, with the title of presbyter, and the appendix to the Gospel with its testimony to his great age. In this manner Nicolas has made the presbyter into the author of the Gospel, who has since Dionysius and again since Grotius been applied to the needs of the New Testament, and who was, as he says, the disciple of John the Apostle. Unfortunately the confident tradition of Papias and Irenæus, as to the simply material Chiliastic doctrine of the presbyter disturbs this conjecture, and so do several other circumstances: the presbyter would, even far more than the synoptic writers, have written the direct opposite of the spiritual Gospel. Besides he, together with those of Asia Minor, kept the passover feast on the 14th Nisan, in opposition to the Gospel, as Baur and Hilgenfeld have triumphantly shown. It has been ascribed to other names: Tobler in 1858 suggested Apollos, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and an acquaintance of the Apostle at Ephesus; yet the supposed author of the Epistle to the Hebrews does not wholly agree with the style and spirit of the Gospel, and besides Apollos is much earlier, is no eye-witness, and could scarcely have even been acquainted with an eye-witness, since he was in his fiftieth year living in Ephesus. Perhaps Gaius will also be suggested, who appears in the third Epistle, and whom an old writer has caused to issue the Gospel in Ephesus, only he has unfortunately changed a Corinthian into an Ephesian.*

The results of our enquiry only declare that the Gospel was published in the beginning of the second century under the name of the Apostle John, by one who was well acquainted with the Holy

* John 1. Comp. Synop. script. s. in De Wette, Einl. 238.

Land, but who was a liberal Jewish Christian, favourable to the Gentiles, probably one of the Jewish Dispersion in Asia Minor.* Any elaborate additions of the presbyter are as little credible as his personal authorship: the "Apostle," the "beloved disciple" is, together with Peter, the mysterious figure of the Gospel, yet every sign, every probability, is wanting that apostle and presbyter, the latter only just departed from the scene, should in the second decade of the second century, be so completely confounded in person as they were at the end of the century by Irenæus, Polycrates, and indeed also by the author of the second and third epistles, and of the appendix. What induced the author to give the name of the Apostle John to his Gospel can be conjectured with at least some probability. John was zealous against the false doctrine, and he was moreover one of those beloved disciples of Jesus, to whom the Church very early ascribed a closer acquaintance with their Master, and whom the author wished now to array against the mighty crisis of the day, against Gnosticism, and in favour of the united Church which was formed of Jews and Gentiles.† He could not cause Paul to speak, who was no original witness, and was a man of controversy, which did not correspond with the author's consciousness of unity. Of the other beloved disciples of Jesus, James had died too early, on the very threshold of the apostolic age, and the use which had been made of Peter long before,

* Schenkel, as well as Baur, have supposed that he was neither a man of Palestine nor a Jew, p. 353. That a Jew by nation was dwelling out of Palestine is not only probable from such passages as vii. 35, xii. 20, but even more from the Hellenic culture, and especially from the freedom from Christian tradition. The condition of the Christians in Palestine under Trajan is sufficiently shown in the person of the Bishop Simeon. Eus. 3, 21, 32. Comp. c. 35, 4, 5, 6. Irenæus, Cerinthus and the Apocalypse point to Asia Minor, as well as the prominence given to the person of Philip, comp. i. 44. vi. 7. xii. 20. xiv. 8. Yet the confusion with the deacon, which is not in Luke, must be stated. Otherwise we might think of Egypt, where the epis. to the Hebrews and to Barnabas, works much allied to this, probably had their origin.

† Comp. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark iii. 17. Luke ix. 49, 54. Clem. a. Eus. 2. 1: Ιακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ (brother of Jesus) καὶ Ιωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ κύριος.

was pointedly in the sense of a strictly Jewish partizan.* John only remained.† It is also possible that by that time the belief was already formed that the Apostle John had been the author of the Ephesian Revelation, which had in reality come from a prophet John of that church, perhaps from the identical chiliastic presbyter. For the Apostle was in any case confounded with the author of the Apocalypse before the confusion of the two personalities, the Apostle and the Presbyter, since Justin Martyr in the dialogue with Trypho (cir. 160-166), some time before Irenæus, was the first witness to this error.‡ This confusion will throw fresh light on the enquiry. The Apostle might the rather be the rallying word in Asia Minor, since the Apostle had already delivered his testimony there, had proclaimed the Lord, had opposed false doctrine, and had indicated the Antichrist. It was now important to show him in a fresh manner, as the age demanded, to reject the hydra of Gnosticism as the spirit of Antichrist, and to declare the mystery of darkness on the one side, and on the other the majesty of Jesus. But if an enigma must still remain in the remarkable coincidence that a Gospel should have been written in the name of the Apostle John in the district, the town, the time, and in some degree in the spirit, in which the presbyter John had at the same time, or immediately before, exerted his admitted influence, and that on this account some reference of the author to the presbyter may still be suggested, yet, in the first place, that which is possibly a mere accident, need not invalidate an established fact, and next, it may be asked whether the activity of John of Ephesus against Cerinthus and Gnosticism is in any way certain, and not rather a misrepresentation of the Revelation and of the Gospel. And finally, we may assume that the Presbyter of history, in any case sympathising with the Apostle and the

* Baur and Schwegler ascribe an anti-Petrine tendency to the Gospel. Comp. also Hilgenfeld, p. 335, and Volkmar, Rel. Jesu. p. 443.

† Comp. Baur, Theol. Jahrb. 1844. p. 690.

‡ Dial. c. Tryph : *ἀνήρ τις ᾧ ὄνομα Ιωάννης εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει.*

author of the Apocalypse, might also indeed contribute to the fame of the name of John, the apostolic name which was superior to his own, and freely sought and desired that it should shine forth in the world from Asia Minor with renewed youth.*

The harsh reproaches which have been hurled against the critical school up to this day because they represent "that it was fabricated by a forger" will be borne by them with patience, since they are the result of ignorance, accompanied by a less refined moral sense. The Old and the New Testament, if we consider the second Isaiah, Daniel, the Psalms, and the Proverbs, contain holy writings which are greatly read, whose authors have assumed the name of a great man, in order by their means to advocate principles of which they have no reason to be ashamed. Out of their love to holy men the author of the story of Paul and Thekla spoke, as well as the Presbyter of Asia Minor, and they have done it also out of love for the holy cause.† And if it should be said that the Church had even at that time disclaimed the falsifying Presbyter, it can be answered that it was only done because the Acts of Thekla, her teaching and baptism appear to infringe the precept of Paul, Let your women keep silence in the Church, and yet more episcopal rights. Together with this, the rigidly ecclesiastical Roman of the so-called Fragment of Muratori, entirely disagreeing with the strict judges of to-day, quietly permitted the Epistle of Jude and the second and third Epistles of John, which he held to be spurious, to be used by the "Catholic Church" because they were written "to do honour to the

* As to the preference for the names, John, Peter, Paul, Dion. a. Eus. 7. 25. How much the name and the author were combined, Dion. shows. (Also Caj. c. Procl. Mont. a, Eus. 3. 28, which simply illustrates Dion.), so that even Cerinthus, who took pleasure in the Apocalypse, was supposed to be its author, although he was opposed to John.

† Tertull. bapt. 17. sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Paul de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum, *id se amore Pauli fecisse*, loco decessisse.

Apostles."* At that time it was only the name of an Apostle which had any effect, and the authority of the Apostles which appealed to the Church. Köstlin may be consulted on this point.† Thus the fourth Gospel need not be a fabrication, even though it made an artistic use of the Apostle's name. Its beauty, its edification, and its sanctity, even the exalted, sweet, and winning impression of passages such as John iii. 16, iv. 23, xiv. 2, which are so worthy of the mouth of Jesus, and which John might have heard him speak, does not depend *merely* on the name, as those suppose, who can allow no sanctity to that which is holy when the name is wanting. The God of the spirits of all men, and the Lord of the Church has, out of his fulness, not merely spoken through John, nor yet even through the lips of the Son of Man, but rather through all those who have loved him in Jesus. Our author has also written with the just conviction that the Apostles and that John would have thus written if he had lived *at that time:* he has written in fulfilment of his calling and supported by the prophetic spirit of truth, in which he believed, and which he zealously proclaimed. Besides, it must not be overlooked that he does not once give the name plainly, but merely disposes his reader to accept his matter as if it came from the Apostle: and again, that he by no means undertakes to maintain external histories, of which he has made such free use, but only to show the spirit which ruled every history of the life of Jesus. He has written in frank and holy inspiration, young in love and probably in age, and no doubt among the most excellent of those who flourished in the age succeeding to the Apostles: no one therefore need dishonour his gifts and knowledge by petty strife since they have been honourably recognized by religion, even while

* Epistola sane Judae et superscriptione Johannis duae in catholica. (ecclesia) habentur, ut sapientia ab amicis Salomonis *in honorem ipsius scripta.*

† Köstlin, Die Pseudonymne Literatur. Theol. Jahrb. 1851, 149. Comp. Schenkel, p. 32. Strauss, L. J. 113.

we have grave reason for founding the history of Jesus on the most certain sources.*

* It is a fixed assumption that the second century was incapable of such an undertaking. Yet we may mention one pearl of this literature, the Epist. to Diognetus, as well as much that is noble in the apostolic fathers, in the Apologists from Justin to Theophilus, and on the Roman ground, even Minucius Felix, together with the splendid scenery of his beautiful dialogues, and the spiritual compositions in the Clementine Hom. It would be easy to show that Minuc. Felix must be assigned to the later times of Marcus Aurelius, as well as the Epist. to Diognetus. (Tschirner against Mangold.)

PART I.

THE SACRED GROUND-WORK.

FIRST CLAUSE.—THE POLITICAL GROUND-WORK.

Superficially considered, the people of Israel was not at its worst period at the hour of the birth of Jesus. In the extent of its territory, in the commanding position of the chain of hills extending from the eastern deserts to the blue waves of the Mediterranean, in the abundance and energy of its inhabitants, in religious splendour, and indeed in the artistic adorning of Jerusalem, as well as in the magnificence of the court, it might seriously vie with those times of David which the national memory had for a thousand years named as their period of prosperity.* Behind this new prosperity there lay indeed, not only the history of sufferings which had endured a hundred years, of the Asiatic exile, and of the alternations of servitude to the Chaldeans, Persians, and Syro-Greeks, but also of the shattered dream of a restoration of the era of David, which appears to have arisen in the middle of the second century before Christ, with Judas Maccabæus (161-171) who had delivered them from the arrogance of the Greek despots, and was for half a century the approved "servant of God," together

* Comp. generally *Ewald*, Gesch. des Volks. Israel, vol. iv. (1864), v. Gesch. Christus, (1855, 1857), vi. 1858. *Herzfeld*, Gesch. des Volks. Israel von Zerstörung des 1. Tempel bis zum Mak. Shimeon, 3 vols. 1847-1857. *Jost*, Gesch. des Judenthum und s. Secten 1 Pt. 1857. *Grätz*, Gesch. der Juden. vol. iii. 1863. *Schneckenburger*, Vorl. über N. T. Zeitgesch. *Oehler*. Art. Volk Gottes, Herzog's Encycl. vol. xvii. Also Art. Asmoneans, Maccabees, Herod, Romans, in Winer and Herzog. The popular power. Phil. leg. ad Caj. Frankf. Ed. p. 1023: *τοὺς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατοικοῦντας ἀπείρους τε εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ σώματα γενναιοτάτους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐτολμοτάτους*, q. o. p. l. 876. *πολυανθρωπότατον γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων*.

with his brothers Jonathan, Simon, and his son John Hyrcanus (died B. C. 107), the hero, leader, priest and prophet. A fresh half century, although embellished by the name of kingdom (Aristobulus I. died B. C. 106) bringing with it the inevitable conflict between Greek and Hebrew culture, again destroyed the prosperity and power of the Maccabæan or Asmonæan house, until the fortunate upstart Herod the Great, sprung from those adverse sons of Esau in the south, the Edomites, who had been subdued by John Hyrcanus, and had even submitted to circumcision, obtained the kingdom by force, by subtilty and murder, and raised upon its ruins the new edifice of seeming splendour under the cover and shadow of which Jesus was born.*

His father was Antipater, son of a ruler or strategos of Edom, who bore the same name, and who had been appointed by the king Alexander Jannæus, a native of Idumea, whom indeed Herod proclaimed to have been a descendant of the original Jews of Babylon, while the unfriendly records of Jews and Jewish Christians degraded him to be the son of a priest called Herod in the Gentile temple of Apollo at Ascalon, who had been carried off by Idumean robbers. This Antipater, who was a man, not merely of importance from his possessions and "devoutness," but also from an energy amounting to intrigue, had arisen from his position as a friend of Hyrcanus II. (B. C. 70) the feeble son of Salome or Alexandra, Alexander's widow, to become, by the aid of the Romans, those fatal early friends of the Maccabæan house, Procurator over the whole of Judea. Julius Cæsar bestowed this dignity, together with the rights of a Roman citizen on the useful Idumean, B. C. 47 (707 A. U. C.), because Antipater had, B. C. 63 (691, A. U. C.), in the consulship of Cicero, betrayed the Holy Land to the Romans by means of the enmity which he had stirred up between Hyrcanus and his more able brother Aristobulus II, had led

* Herod the Great, Ant. 18, 5, 4. Comp. Ewald, iv. 546. His self-taxing, see inf. but comp. in outset Text. præscr. 45: Herodiani, qui *Christum Herodem* esse dixerunt.

the legions of Pompey (B.C. 63) and afterwards of Gabinius and Crassus, (B.C. 60-54) on to the devastated soil of Jerusalem and of the Temple, and had robbed the country of its freedom, its honour, its boundaries, and even of the name of king.* After the year B.C. 47, Hyrcanus, called by the Romans high-priest and prince of the people (ethnarch) sank more and more into insignificance: Antipater ruled, without interfering with Hyrcanus; he rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, and appointed Phasael, the eldest of his four heroic sons (whose mother was Kypros, an Arabian), to be ruler of the district of the holy city, and Herod, the younger, to be ruler of Galilee.† This young man, who was at that time scarcely twenty-five years old, was soon able to surpass even his father. He owed his first fame to the land, in which another should succeed to him with a different grandeur, he purified Galilee from the robber-bands, of which Hezekiah was the most dreaded leader, and by so doing, although he was already a mark for the hatred borne by the national and priestly party against the Edomites, as friends of their new tyrants the Romans, he distinguished himself by dealing summarily with the robbers, without appealing to the legal authorities. He therefore appeared before the Sanhedrim

* The ancestor Antipas, Jos. Ant. 14, 1, 3. Antipater, father of Herod the Gr. an Idumean, ib. The Jewish (Lightf. 259), and Jewish-Christian tradition (even from the mouth of those in the generation succeeding that of Jesus), Just. Tryph. 52. Jul. Afric. ap. Eus. 1, 7. Eus. Chron. Ewald, iv. 518, believes that Ascalon was the native place of the family. Comp. the favour shown to Ascalon by Herod, B. J. 1, 21, 11. Also comp. 2, 6, 3. Ant. 14, 1, 3. According to another passage, it was only the mother of Herod, who was Idumean or Arabian (Ant. 14. 7, 3), but this appears to result from the falsification of the hist. by the historiographer Nicolaus of Damascus (iv. 1, 3), which traced the origin of the race to the noblest Jews of the Babylonish captivity. In order to conceal his origin, Herod was said to have burned the genealogies, Jul. Afric. a. Eus. 1, 7. The Edomites had moreover been judaized by Hyrcanus (15, 7, 9). Ruler, στρατηγὸς, 14, 1, 3. ἄρχων, 15, 9. The conquest by Pompey, 14, 4. Tac. hist. 5, 9. templum jure victoriae ingressus est. Muri diruti, delubrum mansit. C. p. Flacc. 28: quam cara (gens) Diis immort. esset, docuit quod est *victa*, quod *elocata*. Gabinius, Crassus, 14, 5. 1—7, 1. Gerlach. Röm. Statthalter, 1865, p. 5. Procurator through Cæsar, Ant. 14, 8, 5. Year 47, also Gerlach, p. 7. Comp. also Grätz. Gesch. der Juden. iii. 134.

† Ant. 14, 9. 1, 2. Kypros. Ant. 14. 7, 3. 15, 6, 5. comp. Grätz, 3, 151.

of Jerusalem, to which he was summoned by Hyrcanus, with a military escort, wearing purple, with his head anointed, and bearing a letter of safe-conduct from his patron, Sextus Cæsar, the ruler of Syria. No voice was openly raised against him, in the tribunal which had just before been hot against him, except that of Schemaiah (Sameas) a teacher of the law, and Hyrcanus allowed him to withdraw in defiance: he hastened to Syria, bought the governments of Cœle-Syria and Samaria, (B.C. 46) marched thence with an army towards Jerusalem, and when he had with difficulty been persuaded by his father and brother to return, he rejoiced that he had at least menaced the country.*

Neither the death of Julius Cæsar (B.C. March 44), the civil war at Rome, nor the poisoning of his father Antipater at the table of Hyrcanus in the year 43, interfered with Herod's success. He bought the favour of Cæsar's murderers by the unexampled haste with which he brought in large contributions, amounting to a hundred talents (more than £20,000) from Galilee alone, so that Cassius appointed him Procurator of Syria, and promised him the dignity of king, in the event of a victory over Anthony and Octavianus, a prospect which indeed cost his father his life. Nor was Herod's power destroyed by the unfortunate battle of Philippi in the autumn of B.C. 42. He succeeded in gaining Anthony by the influence of his person and of his wealth; and in spite of all the embassies of the Jews, Phasael and Herod were appointed tetrarchs of the whole of Judea in the year B.C. 41. His bethrotal to Mariamne, the grandchild of Hyrcanus, which took place at the same time, added

* 14. 9. 1-5. Bell. Jud. 1, 10, 4-9. Sext. Cæsar+768=16. Gerlach. p. 8. In Ant. 14, 9, 2, Herod is said to have been 15 years old on his appearance. But this does not agree with the age which he attained (about 70 years. Ant. 17, 6. 1). For according to the calculation of 14, 9. 2 (47+15=62 B.C. birth of Herod), he would have been only 58 years old. The sum of 70 can best be attained if we make him 25 instead of 15: although Josephus repeatedly says that Herod was quite young in the year 47, yet this may be explained by other examples, given by Grätz (p. 151.) Sanhedrim. Comp. Jost. 1857, 270.

the illusion of national and hereditary right to Herod's previous good fortune. But there was first an interval of hardship. Immediately afterwards, the Parthian armies overran Upper Asia, while Anthony remained in Egypt, ensnared by Cleopatra: they took Jerusalem, and to please that place as well as the Jews of Babylon, they installed Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, as king, taking Phasael and Hyrcanus prisoners, while Herod escaped with difficulty. All was ended with a blow, Herod was put to flight, Phasael killed himself, and Antigonus cut off the ears of Hyrcanus the high priest.*

Herod landed in Italy as an adventurer. He met Anthony, and by his means also gained over Octavianus. Fear and hatred of the Parthians effected even more than old acquaintance and new engagements: and beyond his most daring hopes a decree of the Senate (B.C. 46) bestowed the kingdom of Judea upon him after eight days, which he had at first only requested for his wife's brother: Herod went to the sacrifice and to the solemn declaration of the decree of the Senate at the Capitol, taking his place between the Triumvirs and in the Consuls' train.† As he marched to Galilee, where the brave men naturally pleased the man who was himself brave, Herod slowly obtained possession of the country, not without the help of Roman legions, and in a third campaign, in June (Sivan) B.C. 37, occupied Jerusalem and the Temple, in the halls of which fire raged, contrary to his wish, and blood streamed through its courts. This was the second Roman occupation of Jerusalem, after an interval of twenty-six years, even to a day. Antigonus fell, by the king's wish, beneath the axe of Anthony, and the Maccabean house had ceased to reign.‡

* Ant. 14, 12-13. Anthony was before a general under Gabinius. Ant. 14, 5, 2-3.

† 14, 14. Cn. Dom. Calvino C. Asinio Pollione Coss. (=714 A. U. C.=40 B.C.) Gerlach, Röm. Statthalter. false: 716=38. Ewald, p. 645: 39. Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum victor Augustus auxit. Tac. hist. 5, 9.

‡ Ant. 14, 15-16. M. Vipsanio Agrippa, Luc. Caninio Gallo. Coss. Josephus, 14, 16, 4, speaks of 27 years after Pompey, but confirms the identity of the day.

The new kingdom underwent its final crisis in the war between Octavianus and Anthony, in which Herod was constrained to take part with Anthony, as the friend and ruler of the east, although he was, on account of the jealous intrigues of Cleopatra, only occupied in the side-scene of Arabia. The frankness with which, after the battle of Actium (Sept. B.C. 31) he proclaimed his friendship for Anthony to Octavianus at the island of Rhodes, in order to set before him the prospect of a like faithfulness, procured the crown for him afresh, which Octavianus set upon his head. After giving the first proofs of his faithfulness in the Egyptian campaign, and after Cleopatra's death, which made such faithfulness more easy to him (B.C. 30) Anthony restored to him all the possessions which his intriguing enemy Cleopatra had obtained at his expense in the south of the country and on its western coast, giving to him Gadara, Hippo, Samaria, and on the coast Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, the tower of Strato, and in short the whole country, and even more than he had lost by Pompey's conquests. A few years later the same benefactor enlarged the kingdom on the north-east, by making over to Herod between the years B.C. 24-21, the wide extent of territory reaching to Anti-Lebanon and Damascus, in order to protect that city from attacks on the side of the desert. He was appointed Procurator-General of Syria, and afterwards nearly obtained the government of Arabia. It was in fact almost the kingdom of David which was again united under Herod.* Herod enjoyed the favour of Octavianus, with few intervals, to the last. Only once Octavianus wrote to him that up to that time he had been his friend, but must now be treated as his subject. Octavianus even endured the scandals of the new royal family with great patience. Josephus did not know how to rate the heights of good fortune to which Herod was exalted more highly than by

* Favour of Oct. Bell. Jud. 1, 20. Ant. 15, 5-6. The acquisitions, B. J. 1, 20, 3-4. Ant. 15, 7, 3. 10, 1. The N. O. (Trachonitis, B.C. 24, province of Zeroda, B.C. 21) 15, 10, 1. B. J. 1, 20, 4. Gerlach in greater detail, p. 13. Arabia, 16. 10, 9.

mentioning in connection with the visits of great Romans between the years B.C. 20-15, the fact, which is perhaps too flattering, that of the two men who ruled the great Roman empire, Octavianus and his subordinate M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Octavianus had esteemed Herod next to Agrippa, and Agrippa esteemed him next to Octavianus.* An actual proof of this high estimation of Herod is found in his appointment as guardian of Syria in the room of Agrippa, who was sent by Augustus into the West during his residence in the East.† Herod did not merely owe his success to that officious attention which displayed the greatness of Rome in costly hospitalities, gifts, and edifices of every kind, but to his genuine fidelity and manly heroism, his pre-eminent wisdom and readiness to accept the culture of the West, qualities which were recognized as adapting him to be a most useful ally in the territory which bounded the eastern empire of Rome, where the inhabitants were so ready to take offence.

Herod, in a certain sense emulated his friend in Rome, in introducing an Augustan era into his land. He, as well as Octavianus, put an end to war, and the dominion which had been cemented together by the blood of its citizens enjoyed a long peace, lasting for almost forty years. He bestowed upon the citizens, as he himself boasted, security and prosperity as well as peace: he rooted out the robber-bands in the north and south, restored many overthrown cities and built others, bringing thousands of colonists, soldiers, peasants and immigrants into his new creations: he gave them good ordinances and privileges, and under these good influences even the rugged district to the north-east became populous; he established in particular an important centre for sea-faring trade by transforming at enormous cost, and by the labour of twelve years, (B.C. 23—10) the Tower of Strato with its Mediterranean haven, which exceeded the Athenian Piræus in size, into the rich,

* The letter, Ant. 16, 9. 3. The friendships, 15, 10, 3. B. J. 1. 20.

† Comp. Gerlach. Röm. Statthalter, p. 16.

splendid, and essentially Hellenized sea-port of Cæsarea, the city of the Emperor, together with the haven Augustus. In fact, the prosperity of the country increased so much in these quiet times that Herod, when he began to build the Temple, boasted of the wealth and income which had accumulated in an unprecedented manner, so as to confirm the most fabulous accounts of the luxurious expenditure of his reign.*

Since he owed his greatness to Rome, "to the all-powerful Romans," as he himself said, and had been already disposed to favour the foreigners by his father, who was a Roman citizen, he made it the object of his life to remove the gulf of prejudices which had divided the East, and especially Palestine, from the West, for hundreds and thousands of years.† It was the idea of an Empire of the world which he wished to fulfil in the sense of Octavianus in this least pliant part of the Roman territory. Rome did not demand the removal of national peculiarities, as it had formerly been demanded by the Syro-Greek, against whom the Maccabeans revolted; but while Octavianus and Agrippa sought to make allegiance to the capital of the world compatible with their tradition, they wished the provinces to admit that at all events their most salient peculiarities must yield to Rome. When Herod, in his relations with the people, asserted that his innovations were not voluntary, but imperial commands, the assertion was so far correct, that his emancipation from the exclusiveness of Judaism pleased the Romans, and he cared for nothing so much as this approbation, which was profitable to himself.‡ Any sentiment for the ideal blessings of Israel was wanting in this Edomite, and yet more to a man of such lawless impulses, as well as any profound compre-

* The colonists, B. J. 1, 21, 2. Ant. 16, 9. 2. Trachonitis, 17, 2. 2. Ordinances for cities, B. J. 1, 21, 2. Cæsarea (largest city) 1, 21, 5. Ant. 15, 9, 6. 16, 5. 1. 20, 8, 7. Harbours, B. J. 1, 31, 3. Ant. 17, 5. 1. Date of the late consecration, 28 y.—10-9. Ant. 16, 5, 1. Building 10 years, ib. 12. 12 years 15, 9, 6. The plan about 24. Ant. 15, 10, 1. Grätz, 23-12, Ewald: Consecration, 9. Comp. Sueton. Octav. 60. Speech to the people, 15, 11, 1. Self-glorification of his reign, 15, 11, 1.

† The all-powerful Romans, 15, 11, 1. ‡ Ant. 15, 9, 5.

hension of the western culture which he had outwardly adopted; and if his zeal for the foreigner was in some sort a passion, this man, not only from interested motives, but from a certain vanity, as well as because he was, after the manner of a genuine barbarian, dazzled by the power of the foreigner, and still more, because he was inwardly provoked by the opposition of his own people.*

He was not, however, wholly without toleration for the peculiarities of his nation. As early as the year B.C. 37, he went unwillingly to attack the holy city; he delegated the burning of the temple courts to Antigonus, and directed that the beasts appointed for sacrifice should receive food, in the very midst of the siege; he tried to restrain murder and pillage, and opposed by force of arms the entry of the Romans into the Holy of Holies.† He himself did not enter the sanctuary, even at a time when he caused the temple to be rebuilt by the hands of the priests.‡ Those building works which were obnoxious to the people, he removed as far as possible beyond Jerusalem and Judea.§ And he endeavoured to obviate the unfavourable impression made by such works, by giving honour in all ways to the national God, and by sparing the strict sect of the Pharisees; and above all (as a proof of his perfect devoutness towards God), by beginning in the 18th year of his reign (B.C. 20) to raise the temple of Jerusalem from the mean condition in which it had been left by Zerubbabel, and to adorn it in the course of eight years' work (to B.C. 12) with that splendour of gold and marble which was not merely the admiration of the Galilean followers of Jesus. And indeed, when after a year and a half (B.C. 18) the splendour of the main building

* Vanity, Ant. 16, 5, 4. A certain higher culture had been enjoyed by Herod in Jerusalem, 15, 10, 5. His irritability, 15, 9, 5. 16, 5, 4. 19, 7. 3.

† 14, 15, 2. 14, 16, 2-3.

‡ 15, 11, 5. § 2: 10,000 workmen and 1000 priests in priestly garments. Comp. Ewald, p. 565.

§ 15, 9, 5. The buildings in Jerusalem, see Entry of Jesus: Cæsarea in hist. of the Apostles.

was restored, the priests ministered in costly vestments, the King himself offered 300 oxen, and he succeeded in exciting the people to enthusiastic joy and thankfulness to God. In this instance he was, as Octavianus was in Horace's words of exaggerative praise, after his manner the restorer of religion, and no one was better pleased than Herod with the praise which Octavianus and Marcus Agrippa, as well as Israel, bestowed upon his work. Octavianus was, as it appears, when on his journey through Syria about the year B.C. 20, also in Herod's dominion, an admirer of the Jewish temple rites, even although, according to his own statements, he appears only to have entered Cæsarea, not the Temple nor Jerusalem. Agrippa, in the autumn of the year B.C. 15, came still more willingly in compliance with Herod's urgent wish, as a friend of the Emperor and of the King, who wished to show him his land, his castles, and the great buildings in Cæsarea, Samaria and Jerusalem, where one wing of the palace was called after him. He undoubtedly came to the feast of Tabernacles, was received at Jerusalem triumphantly, and with shouts of joy, offered 100 oxen, gave the people a splendid banquet without giving any offence to their customs, and was in daily contemplation of the splendour of the Temple, the sacrifices, the priests, and the sacred rites of the people, while he made these novelties the chief subject of his conversation. Jewish piety appears to have been in such excellent agreement with Rome, that a numerous crowd accompanied the Roman, who had done homage to their piety, to the ship at Cæsarea, throwing branches and flowers; and when Herod in the year B.C. 14 returned the visit of the Roman, whom he had continued to influence by the abundance of his wealth, Agrippa journeyed with him as far as Sinope on the Black Sea; and, on his return, he joyfully proclaimed in a public speech at Jerusalem, that Agrippa, as Cæsar had once done for Antipater, had at his request granted the freest exercise of their religion to the Jews of Asia. He combined with this a panegyric of his "useful" government; and once he

was so well disposed as to remit a fourth part of the tribute for the foregoing year, the multitude dispersed with shouts of gratitude.*

The favour shown to heathenism was however joined to the homage which he paid to the Jewish religion. The former was especially shown in monuments. From south to north there had arisen, not only towns, forts, and towers—as a defence against the stranger, and as a restraint to his own people—castles and aqueducts, but moreover heathen temples. Thus in Cæsarea, which was called New Rome, a splendid sanctuary of the Emperor looked down upon the seafarers from a commanding hill, within which were colossal images of Octavianus and of Rome, in imitation of the images of Zeus and Here, at Olympia and Argos.† Magnificent temples to Octavianus were erected in like manner (about B.C. 25) in Samaria (Sebaste-Augusta) and to the north by the sources of the Jordan near Paneas, as a thanksgiving for the territory which had been newly granted, immediately after the Emperor's visit (B.C. 20).‡ At the same time theatres and amphitheatres were built in the important cities, and festivities of every kind instituted.§ These undertakings were not even confined to his own land, but extended to Phenicia, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece. The King of the Jews, with surprising liberality, bestowed upon the Greek cities, including Athens and Sparta, temples, theatres, games, porticos, gymnasia, baths, aqueducts, walls, even marble pavement for the streets. He gave land, sent money and provisions, imposed taxes for the building of fleets, paid the rulers of the gymnasia, and contributed to the Olympian games. He took

* Building of Temple, Ant. 15, 11. Also Ewald, 20. Grätz, 22-24. Protection of foreign Jews, Ant. 16. 2, 3. 6. 1. Phil. leg. ad Caj. Frankf. Ed. p. 1014. 1033. 1035. Augustus (amazed at the empty Holy of Holies) and Agrippa in Philo, 1032. 1035. Jos. B. J. 1. 20, 4. Ant. 15, 10, 3, 16, 2. Comp. Suet. Oct. 93. Agrippa's wing, B, J. 1, 21, 1. For the time comp. Gerlach, p. 13.

† B. J. 1, 21, 7. Ant. 15, 9. 6. Comp. Sueton. Octav. 60.

‡ B. J. 1, 21, 2-3. Ant. 15, 8, 5. 15, 10, 1. 3. Throughout the land, B. J. 1, 21, 4. Comp. Grätz, 3, 183.

§ B. J. 1, 21, 8. Ant. 15, 9, 6.

pleasure in his recognition by foreigners, which made amends to him for the depreciation of the Jews, and added to his feeling of security, which was only troubled by the fear of arousing envy or suspicion, not merely because he was more beneficent to those who were without, than to those within, but because he put the foreign rulers to shame.* It would have been surprising if this excessive tendency to favour the Gentiles had not extended from the circumference to the centre, if Herod had allowed policy to triumph over passion, and had left the sacred soil of Jerusalem undefiled. He was deterred from such policy by his desire to offer every comfort to the Greeks, to the Romans, and to Agrippa in his capital, as well as by inward displeasure at the refractoriness of the Jews, which was continually apparent, and drew from him the frank avowal, that he greatly preferred the Greeks to the Jews.† In Jerusalem, at any rate, there was no temple to the gods of earth and heaven. On that account Herod instituted combats of gladiators in honour of Octavianus and of the battle of Actium, and erected a theatre, magnificent in stones, in gold and silver, and in its wardrobe: its interior was painted with the deeds of Octavianus, and hung with the trophies of his battles, and in lack of Jewish plays, there was a good collection from Gentile sources. An extensive amphitheatre was erected in the plain not far from the city: and men soon beheld with astonishment the unwonted space for all the arts and games of the Greeks and Romans, from the fights of gladiators to the strangest fights of wild beasts, a marvel even to the Gentiles.‡ How, finally, could the temple of God avoid marching with the times? Not only therefore must it accept a multitude of trophies of barbaric booty, but a great golden eagle, the symbol of Rome, was displayed over the main entrance.§ The condition of the court in Jerusalem,

* B. J. 1, 21, 11-12. Ant. 15, 9, 5. 16, 5. 3-4. † 19, 7. 3.

‡ Ant. 15, 8, 1. "The plains" appear to be near (Ewald, p. 560), and were therefore not those of Philistia. Comp. Winer. Art. Thäler.

§ 15, 11, 3. 17, 6, 2.

the court life, the magnificent new residence in the higher city, the whole manner of government also imparted a foreign air to its oriental type: there were 400 Gallic guards, inherited from Cleopatra, body-guards of all kinds, Thracian and German divisions, and some native troops, all excellent soldiers: there were also hundreds of court servants, eunuchs, soothsayers and Chaldeans: there were again men of Greek culture, such as the peripatetic orator and historian, Nicolaus of Damascus, and his brother Ptolemy, the orator Irenæus, the Lacedemonian parasite Eurycles, and foreign ambassadors and guests, who came and went, especially at the numerous feasts. Many new friends to Judaism were called in mockery proselytes of the royal table.* The princes received Greek and Roman names, Greek and Roman education, which they completed in the higher schools at Rome. The King himself was pleased, now and then, to appear as an orator. He often displayed his enlightenment in close connection with superstition, and after terrible earthquakes, in which the people of old beheld the signs of God, he reassured them by declaring that they were to be ascribed to chance. He regarded the angel of God, who brought the law to Sinai, as almost a human messenger. He not only absolved others from the law, but also himself, since he married Malthake, who was a Samaritan, and his son Alexander married a woman of Cappadocia, whose children grew up as Gentiles. Unlawful marriages were characteristic of the whole family. Violations of wives and of maidens were common. In matters of discipline, however, a secret police, excellently organized, was vigilant, and there were unscrupulous quæstors appointed for the taxes and imposts. He transgressed the law in his own laws, as for example, when he allowed theft to be condoned by exile; he himself countenanced theft, when he sacrilegiously pillaged David's tomb.† He manifested his arrogance towards

* Grätz, p. 308.

† Body guards, Eunuchs, 15, 7, 3. 16, 8, 1. 17, 8, 3. 10, 3. Surroundings, 16, 5, 1. 17, 9, 5, Soothsayers (under Archelaus), B. J. 2, 7, 3. Nicolaus (a Jew) 16.

religion to the people most strongly in his treatment of its chief organs. Instead of the distinguished families of the hierarchy, he appointed people of inferior condition, or foreign priests, to the high priesthood from which he was himself excluded, and, which was a thing hardly done by Antiochus Epiphanes himself, he arbitrarily appointed and deposed them, contrary to the old order of succession. He put an end to the Sanhedrim of the Maccabees, and demanded from his creatures arbitrary judicial decisions.*

These extravagant and perverted actions are enough to show that the external splendour was much greater than the actual and true prosperity of that era of Herod which its admirers have wished to set forth as the culminating point of the history of Israel. Herod was not devoid of nobler qualities, even although they have been forgotten by the Jews and Christians. He was not merely a brave leader in war, a bold hunter and rider, and a sagacious ruler; there was in him a large-heartedness and an innate nobility of mind which enabled him to be a benefactor of his people. This fundamental characteristic of his nature, inherited from his father, is admitted by the Jewish historian, times out of number, and has been shown by his affection for his father, mother, and brothers, and also for his friends, by his

7, 1. (a Gentile according to Grätz, but see 16, 2. 4): Irenäeus. 17, 9, 4. Eurycles (a Greek) 16, 10, 1. Sons, 15, 10, 1. 16, 7, 3. 16, 8, 3. Herod as an orator, *e.g.* 15, 11, 1. His enlightenment, 15, 5, 3. Angel, ib. Marriage to Samaritan woman, 17, 1, 3. Alexander, 18, 5, 4. Comp. Salome, 15, 7, 10. Violation, 17, 11, 5. Police, 15, 8, 4. 10, 4. Tax gatherers, 17, 11, 2. Law as to theft, 16, 1, 1. Theft at David's tomb, 16, 7, 1.

* The high priests: (1) Ananel from Babylon, 15, 2, 4, 3, 1. (2) Aristobulus the Asmonean, 15, 3, 1. (3) Ananel (a 2nd time) 15, 3, 3. (4) Jesus of Phabus, 15, 9, 3. (5) Simon Boethos from Alexandria (cir. 24) 15, 9, 3. (6) Matthias Theophilus, 17, 4, 2. (7) Joazar Boethos, 17, 6, 4. 13, 1. There is some mention of the Sanhedrim in Herod's time, and afterwards in N. T. (Matt. xvi. 59. comp. ii. 4. Mark xiv. 55. Acts iv. 5. v 34), and also in Josephus, but they are either incompetent assemblies, or called together ad hoc. "Of (orderly and law-enacting) Sanhedrims there is no trace throughout the time of Herod and the Romans." Jost. 1857. p. 278. Herod condemned the members of the Sanhedrim to death (Ant. 14, 9, 4) and the Roman Gabinius (divide et impera) had previously instituted five distinct Sanhedrims instead of one (Ant. 14, 5, 4. B. J. 1, 8, 5.) which had, indeed, only a momentary existence. Grätz, 3, 145.

beneficence in good fortune, and even in adversity. When in the year B.C. 37 he spoiled Jerusalem, he palliated the crime with the fair sounding words, that the empire of the world would not compensate him for the death of so many citizens. When in the thirteenth year of his reign (B.C. 25), some years before the building of the Temple, famine and sickness devastated the land, he sold the gold and silver treasures in his house, and himself became poor, while he bespoke great quantities of grain from Egypt, which he dispensed, and caused to be made into bread: he clothed the poor, and fed 50,000 men at his own expense: he himself sent help to the towns of Syria, and obtained the immediate, and indeed the enduring gratitude of the people as a second Joseph.* Yet it was only the large-heartedness of a barbarian, without true culture, or deeper morality. Hence came the unscrupulousness, the want of consideration for the national peculiarities which he opposed, the base cunning and vanity which coloured all his actions, and hence again, especially in later life, he became subject to caprices, to anger and repentance, to mistrust and cruelty, to the wiles of women and of eunuchs. He was, in short, only the petty tyrant, the successful upstart who was self-seeking, and at once rash and timid; a beggar before Augustus; a foolish time-server before the Greek and Roman world; a tyrant in his own house, and incapable either of resisting influence or of enduring contradiction. In important affairs he was little as a man, and even as a ruler, and his fairest sayings were only uttered to his own condemnation.

His lavish expenditure sufficed to ruin the land. Even Octavianus and Agrippa used to say that the land was too narrow for Herod's haughty pride; only the addition of the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt would suffice for his undertakings. The large cities might continue to flourish, Herod himself might, when he

* Opinion of the value of his reign, 15, 41, 1. Nobility, 16, 5, 4. B. J. 1, 21, 12. Liberality even in misfortune, 14, 14, 3. The great saying, 14, 16, 3. Famine, 15, 9, 1-2. Enduring gratitude, 15, 9, 5.

began the building of the temple, proclaim the benefits of the long peace, of the riches he had in hand, and the greatness of his income, but the taxes were enormous, and in spite of the repeated remission of a third and fourth part, they were so exorbitant that after the King's death, the people rose in revolt to demand that they should be lightened. There was every expedient for levying taxes: even the most necessary market wares had their imposts, and they were extorted without consideration. There was a frightful system of proscription after the Roman manner, by which the King satisfied his murderous desires as well as his avarice, and a hateful system of bribery, beginning with the King, continued by his counsellors and judges, and carried out by the slaves who collected the taxes. The land was especially agitated by the drain of gold into foreign countries: an embassy to the Emperor afterwards complained that he had never ceased to adorn foreign cities, and that those of his own country had consequently fallen into decay, and the whole nation, which had been delivered to him in a flourishing condition, had become beggars.*

Together with the extortion of money there was involved the iron pressure of a tyranny which was designated by the people themselves as a combination of all the forms of despotic government, exaggerated by inventions of his own.† In fact, he combined all the evil customs of the east with the new right of the strongest which belonged to the west. The dangerous position of the upstart, with respect to the earlier royal family and to the national aversion, the divisions of his numerous family, the intrigues of a court of women, eunuchs, barbers, and frivolous flatterers of every description, drew him on, as if with demoniacal power, from one stage of cruelty to another.‡

* The saying of Oct. Ant. 16. 5, 1. Income, 15, 11. 1. Riches in Cæsarea, 20. 8, 7. Imposts, 16, 5, 4. 17, 11, 2. Market produce, 17, 8. 4. Remission. 15, 10, 4. 16, 2, 5. Proscriptions, 15, 1, 2. 17, 11, 2. Corruption, ib. Complaints, ib.

† 17, 11. 2.

‡ A barber is in fact introduced into the hist. Ant. 16. 11, 5.

The youthful arrogance which sent him against Jerusalem with an army, became uncontrollable when he was a man, and when he was old it was the refinement of caprice and profligacy.* Daily executions began on his entry into Jerusalem in the year B.C. 37 with the execution of Antigonus, of the nephew of Hyrcanus, and of his own dependants. Of all the Sanhedrim which had sat in judgment against him as a youth, he left one survivor, the Pharisee Schemajah, and he even put out the eyes of Hillel's tender-hearted scholar, Jochanan, the son of Zaccheus, and afterwards asked advice of him.† While he made use of flattery abroad, he sought to protect himself by terror at home. He encircled the whole land with bulwarks against revolt, especially Jerusalem, Bethlehem, (Herod's fortress) and Samaria, and no one believed that it was with a view to the security of the country.‡ He pardoned no one whom he suspected: he enforced obedience by an oath, and whoever would not swear forfeited his life. Innumerable people disappeared mysteriously in the fortress of Hyrcania. Life was forfeited even for the offence of meeting or standing together, when it was noticed by the countless spies in the city and on the highways, and indeed by himself in his rounds by night.§ The bloody decimation of his own family was most revolting. About the year B.C. 35 he caused his wife's brother Aristobulus, who had been high priest for eighteen years, to be stifled by his Gallic guards in a pond at Jericho, because he was popular, and belonged to the old family: in the year B.C. 31, after the battle of Actium, he murdered his grandfather-in-law Hyrcanus, aged eighty years, and in the year B.C. 30 or 29 his wife Mariamne, and a little later her intriguing mother Alexandra, since they had become objects of suspicion to him: in the year B.C. 25 his brother-

* 15, 1, 1. 2. Comp. the sons of Baba, slain after 12 years' imprisonment, 15, 7, 10.

† Sanhedrim, 14, 9. 4. Comp. Lightfoot, 259. Jost. 1857. p. 269.

‡ 15, 8, 4-5. 15, 11, 1. The Maccabean fortresses of Hyrcania, Alexandrion, Machaerus and Masadæ, were also fortified afresh.

§ 15, 9, 5. 10, 4.

in-law, Kostobar, and a long line of friends were slain: about the year B.C. 6, the sons of Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, were judicially condemned and strangled in Samaria: and finally the diabolical Antipater, the son of the first marriage, who, together with Salome, Herod's sister, and with Alexandra, his mother-in-law, had taken the greatest part in the crimes of the family. After he had been incited to commit evil deeds, Herod relapsed into the deepest repentance: he complained of the depravity of his house, he deplored Mariamne, whose place was filled by a second wife about the year B.C. 24, he called for his sons, whose spirits haunted him. It was a witty saying of Octavianus, who had often shielded, but who finally abandoned his sons to his will, that it was better to be one of Herod's swine than a son. Antipater's execution took place in the King's last illness, five days before his death: at the same time he caused the chief men of Israel to assemble on the race-course at Jericho, to be shot down at his death: however much he was hated, yet they must weep for him, and so do him honour. The fact can hardly be disputed, but it was the act of his last delirium, and Salome released the prisoners after his death, because, as it is said, the King had altered his purpose.*

But the nation felt itself to be still more unfortunate, and offended in its inmost sanctity, by the reckless Hellenism which resulted in open breach of the law. Their mistrust and aversion to Herod were as tenacious and unyielding as their national faith, and the religious instinct of the nation broke through and severed all the delusive glitter which disguised the revolt from religion behind the professions of honour towards the national God which were made by the King, and even by the Emperor, his court and his statesmen.† The nation

* Death of Aristobulus, 15, 3, 3. Of Hyrcanus, 15, 6, 1. Of Mariamne, of Alexandra, of the friends, 15, 7, 1-10. The sons of Mariamne, 16, 11, 1-7. The second Mariamne, p. 190. Antipater, 17, 7. Jericho, 17, 6, 5. The malignant influence of his wives and of his son, B. J. 1, 22, 1. 16. 7, 2-5. The saying of Oct.: melius est Herodis porcum esse, quam filium in Macrob. Saturnal. 2, 4.

† Comp. the sacrifice of Agrippa, 16, 2, 1.

openly mourned over the destruction of their customs, over the decline of their religion, which was complete at all points, from the slaughter of the national and royal family by him who was once its servant, to the games in the theatre which were contrary to the law.* If the King in his greed for honour, silently desired that his people should dedicate to him as many images and temples as he had lavished on their Roman masters, they were far more disposed to break forth in anger against the profanations which had threatened the whole land with the vengeance of its most mighty and supreme King. Disguised images of men were suspected to be among the trophies in the theatre, and the cry arose with one voice, that they could not be endured in the holy city: the King was constrained to pacify them, and caused some trophies to be removed, so that every one might see that no human image lurked under the weapons. Many now laughed, but ten citizens conspired to stab Herod in the theatre. The secret police detected them, Herod hastened back to the palace, and the ten were cruelly executed, but the informer was torn to pieces by the people, and thrown to the dogs.† In Herod's last sickness, two teachers of the law, Judah, the son of Seriphaos, and Matthias, the son of Margaloth, believing that he was dead, excited the youth who were zealous for the law by the promise of eternal life, and struck down the stately heathen eagle on the temple gates with axes. When they were arrested, they declared courageously that Moses was higher than the King. They were condemned by an intimidated tribunal assembled at Jericho: Matthias and some others were burnt, and about forty were executed: no one need regret that the high priest Matthias was, as an object of suspicion, superseded by Joazar the still more servile son of Boethos.‡ The Pharisees, more than 6000 in number, whose example was followed by many others, never took the oath to

* Mourning, 15, 8, 1. 1. 9, 5, 10, 4. Comp. for the scorn of the Rabbi against the servus, Lightfoot, 259. The games contrary to the law, 15, 18, 1.

† 15, 8, 1-4. ‡ 17, 6, 2.

the King and Emperor, which Herod had in other instances enforced by terror, and he did not dare to lay hands on them: the fine which he imposed was paid for the sect by his own sister-in-law, the wife of his brother Pheroras. It was, perhaps, only the honourable consideration with which Herod treated the leader Pollio (Abtalion), a Pharisee, and his scholar Sameas, (Schemajah) which prevented a yet more serious catastrophe. Careless of the means, and confident of the ways of providence, which miraculously protected and upheld the King, Sameas had already proclaimed Herod to be the divine instrument of punishment before the Sanhedrim which trembled at the Galilean ruler, and on this account he agreed with Pollio to admit Herod at the time of the siege of Jerusalem, in opposition to the sons of Baba.* At the same time indeed the Pharisees hoped that the arm of God would destroy his instrument, together with all his family, and they secretly promised the crown in God's name to the house and children of Pheroras. This was indeed the chief cause of the condemnation of many Pharisees. But must not the flames which, when David's tomb was plundered, had burned up the sacrilegious party which accompanied him, at last lay hold of himself?†

Herod the Great's hour came. Unhappy in mind, repeatedly reconstructing his will because he mistrusted his sons, and latterly consumed by a frightful disease of the bowels, the new Antiochus, who even on his death-bed sent forth his furious and bloodthirsty mandates, died miserably when nearly seventy years of age beneath the palms of Jericho (before the Passover, B. C. 4) and seers pointed out that the judgment was divine.‡

* 14, 9, 4. 15, 1, 1. 7. 10 (Baba), 10, 4. 17, 2, 4, Wonderful protection, 14, 15, 11, 13.

† 17, 2, 4. Grave, 16, 7. 1.

‡ 17, 6-8. The death immediately before the Passover, 17, 9. 3. The year B.C. 4, or A.U.C. 750, may be deduced from the duration of the succeeding reigns. (See inf.) The reckoning of Josephus (34 years after the death of Antigonus (37)=3, 4 B.C. and 37 years after his installation as king (40)=3 B.C. is at all events in general agreement.

The brilliant show which invested the rule of the Idumean, vanished with the dead man, and with his funeral feast, which once more brought the whole reign before the nation like a vision, with the corpse laid on gilded cushions, and decked in purple, with crown, sceptre and jewels, with an escort of courtiers bearing incense, and of barbarian soldiers.* The day of his death was, as he had himself foreseen, a Jewish festival: the kingdom came to an end, and was divided and shattered: his sons finally ate the bread of exile, his numerous family was extinct within a hundred years, and a curse lay upon the house of Herod.† Out of the six sons who, together with five daughters, survived from ten marriages which had taken place almost at the same time, he had finally preferred Archelaus, son of the Samaritan, Malthake, and had in his will appointed him to be king.‡ But in order to be tolerated it was necessary for Archelaus to atone for the sins of his father, to comply with every demand, to diminish taxes, to abolish the tax upon markets, and to release many prisoners. But the ferment increased: the people deplored the execution of the scribes with loud outcries, they spoke lightly of the late King, and demanded of Archelaus that he should punish his father's counsellors, and depose Joazar the new high priest. It

* 17, 8, 3. Buried at Herodium near Bethlehem.

† 18, 5, 3. The feast-day, B.J. 1, 33, 6. Comp. Grätz, 3, 426.

‡ The marriages of Herod: (1) Doris, son, Antipater. (2) Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. Sons, Aristobulus and Alexander: daughters, Salampsio and Kypros. (3) Mariamne, daughter of the high-priest Simon (B.C. 24). Son, Herod, the first husband of Herodias. (4) Malthake, the Samaritan; sons, Archelaus, Antipas, daughter, Olympias. (5) Cleopatra of Jerusalem; sons, Herod and Philip. (6) Pallas, son, Phasael. (7) Phaedra; dau. Roxana. (8) Elpis; dau. Salome; (9) and (10) brother's daughter and a niece, childless. B. J. 1, 28, 4. Ant. 17, 1, 3. 18, 5, 4 (where are also the later family relations, and especially those of the allied rulers of Asia Minor). Extinction of the family, cir. A.D. 100. See Jos. Vit. 65. Agrippa II., the great-grandson of Herod M. survived to the time of Trajan (3 y. Trajan's Phot. Bibl. C. 33.). The emendation advocated by Grätz, p. 410 of Τραϊανοῦ in τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Vespasian), by which Agrippa must have died 71, 72, is proved to be untenable from Jos. Vit. 65, whence it appears that he, in any case, survived the Greek translation of "the Wars of the Jews" (not earlier than 75), and lived long after it. But he and his kindred were dead at the time of the Vita.

was useless to attempt to appease them, for the passions which had been long repressed must have their vent: they were excited by the lawyers, who were more certain of their object than the people. Therefore at the passover, B.C. 4, there was an open revolt: a cohort was stoned by the people, in order that they might sacrifice their passover lamb in peace, but the slayers became the sacrifice and almost 3000 men were cut down in the temple.*

After this ghastly inauguration, Archelaus went to Rome, to obtain from Augustus the confirmation which was indispensable. Philip was administrator of the kingdom. The work did little credit to its master: the people, and even the family hated him as the son of a Samaritan, and yet more as a tyrant and a genuine Herod. Antipas, his younger full brother, travelled to Rome as his open rival, secretly supported by his relations, and especially by Salome, as well as by the people, in order to make his father's first will valid, in which Antipas was inserted as king, out of hatred to Archelaus and Philip. The people's first wish was not to have a Herod at all, but freedom and a Roman ruler, and at the worst to have Antipas instead of Archelaus.

The sons contended before Augustus through the mouth of their advocates. Antipas availed himself of all his brother's weak points, while Archelaus relied on the letter of his father's last will. The government records of Syria concerning the resources of the kingdom again showed a deficiency of income. The Emperor, out of regard for Herod, who in a manner which is almost touching had even in his will bequeathed millions to his benefactor, decided the painful strife in favour of Archelaus. Raising him from the ground, he declared that he was the most worthy, but postponed the final judgment.†

Unfortunately fresh messengers now came from Judea. The whole nation was in revolt, either against the absent Archelaus,

* 17, 8, 4. 17, 9, 1-3. † 17, 9

or against the Romans, who had begun to feel their position secure. Quinctilius Varus, the able ruler of Syria, who had been consul in the year B.C. 13, and was afterwards killed in Germany, was surrounded by the insurrection, but he put it down, punished its authors, and summoned to Jerusalem a legion which was returning to Antioch.* But a more arbitrary and rapacious imperial treasurer destroyed the orderly state of things so laboriously restored by Varus: Sabinus, the Procurator of Syria, appeared in Cæsarea and then in Jerusalem at the time that Archelaus was on his way to Rome, in order to secure the effects which Herod had left behind him, the forts, castles and treasures, and this could scarcely have been done merely in the interests of a just partition.† Sabinus did not understand the people. Collecting an army, he marched through the land, seizing the royal fortresses and money, forcibly and as a matter of booty. It was hatred against the Romans rather than religion which drew a hundred thousand to the feast of Pentecost at Jerusalem, men of Idumea, Jericho, Perea, and Galilee, as well as of Judea. They encamped in three divisions, and a desperate conflict broke out. The Romans set fire to the temple courts, and many were killed, others destroying themselves: Sabinus pillaged the treasures of the temple, on which Crassus, the robber of £2,000,000 had laid hands 50 years before. The Jews did not submit, but surrounded Sabinus. The whole country was in a state of absolute disorganization: Herod's disbanded soldiers plundered in Judea, and the robber captain Judas arose in Galilee, a son of the great robber captain Hezekiah, and armed his followers from the royal arsenals of Sepphoris: robbers and slaves, among whom Simon, who was dreaded even by the Romans, was foremost, crowned themselves in feeble imitation of the upstart's dynasty,

* As to Varus (at least in Syria, B.C. 6. Ant. 17, 5, 2. 7; comp. Gerlach, p. 20:) See Vellei. Pat. 2, 117: Syriam (divitem pauper ingressus) pauperem reliquit.

† Jos. Ant. 17, 9, 3. 10, 1: ἐπίτροπος τῶν καίσαρος πραγμάτων. Comp. Gerlach, Röm. Statthalter in Syrien und Palästina, p. 19.

amid the general tumult.* But now the governor Varus appeared from Syria, in great state, with two legions, with cavalry, kings and tetrarchs, and furious Arabs: his son fell upon the Galileans, and destroyed Sepphoris, the capital, in which Judas had fortified himself, while Varus himself marched through Samaria to Jerusalem, destroying and crushing the insurrection, and Sabinus, its real instigator, quietly withdrew to the Mediterranean. After taking a terrible vengeance (2000 were crucified) he gained more by his gentleness: he permitted the people of Jerusalem, who ascribed their guilt to external influence, to represent their wishes peaceably to the Emperor.†

Fifty envoys went to Rome: 8000 Jews joined the procession into the city, which was received by the Emperor in the temple of Apollo. They made loud complaints of the evils of Herod's time. He had oppressed the people by taxes, by corruption, avarice, cruelty and immorality. At no time of their history, not even after their return from exile, had the nation been more wretched: only the dead were fortunate. Archelaus had at first been joyfully welcomed, but he proved to be a true son of his father. Only one thing was desired by the people, namely, to be delivered from the royal authority, and from such rulers, to be annexed to Syria, and to be subject to the governor of Syria.‡

Archelaus was obliged to hear all this, and was defended by his advocate Nicolaus, but he had nothing to oppose to the damning fact that the nation very much preferred foreign to native rule, even after the forcible invasion of the Roman legions. The national instinct had rightly divined that a Roman government, with all its arbitrary power and extortion, must still be beneficial in comparison with a royal authority

* As to Simon, comp. together with Jos. 17, 10, 6. Tac. hist. 5, 9: post mortem H. nihil expectato Cæsare Simo quidam regium nomen invaserat. Crassus, 14, 7, 1. After the plunder of the soldiery, Sabinus saved for himself 400 talents.

† 17, 10, 11, 1. ‡ 17, 11, 1-2.

which was intoxicated with power, and at issue with the nation, and the greater distance of the ruler was also encouraging, as well as the Roman consideration for national peculiarities, and above all the principles of toleration and even of favour with which Augustus regarded the Jews and their temple. On the other hand the Emperor was finally influenced, not only by consideration for Herod's family, but also by a calculation of the difficulties of dealing with the peculiar people, which would increase the burdens which already oppressed him in the East: Herod's own will provided the means of avoiding this danger, and the division of the country into three parts (according to the old plan of Gabinius) satisfied the contending princes, delivered the people from their rulers' ambitious dreams, diminished the force of rebellion, and secured dependence upon Rome. Some days after hearing the envoys, the Emperor, in accordance with the will, appointed Archelaus ethnarch (national ruler) of Judea, of Idumea, and of Samaria, of the other portions he gave half as a tetrarchy to Antipas, and half to Philip, who had made his appearance in Rome, and was favoured by Varus: to the former tetrarch (or ruler of a fourth part), he gave Batanea, Trachonitis and Gaulon, to the latter Galilee and Perea. He followed Pompey's example in reannexing to Syria some Greek cities, Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo, which had been formerly acquired by the Asmoneans. Archelaus was content: he retained the important cities of Jerusalem, Sebaste, Cæsarea, and Joppa, and the largest revenue, 600 talents, or about £120,000, while Antipas had only a third, and Philip a sixth part, and Augustus promised moreover that he should retain the title of king. The rest of the family shared the inheritance, and especially Salome, the king's sister, to whom Augustus showed more consideration than was prescribed by the will: Augustus reserving only some memorials, renounced the bequests to himself.*

* 17, 11. 4, 5. B. J. 2, 6, 3. The partition in accordance with the will, 17, 8, 1.

The professions of Archelaus were not, however, fulfilled. In his hands the gentleness prescribed by the Emperor became tyranny, both towards the Jews and the Samaritans. In addition to his cruelty, he was a sensual Idumean, revelling in banquets, and licentiously putting away his wife Mariamne, in order to marry the widow of his murdered brother Alexander, the Cappadocian princess Glaphyra. He offended against the law both by this marriage to his brother's widow, who was not childless, and who quickly pined away out of remorse for her late unfaithfulness to Alexander, and by trifling with the high priesthood, which he, like his father Herod, thrice changed, appointing his creatures of the house of Boethos.* He satisfied his taste for architecture by additions to the fortifications of Jericho, and by the building of Archelais. Dissatisfaction was expressed in a peaceful form, when in the tenth year of his reign, the Jews, as well as the Samaritans, who had up to this time been favoured, sent embassies to Rome, on the strength of the good wishes which the Emperor had expressed for the land, and in concert with the brothers of Archelaus (A.D. 6—7).† The Emperor was so displeased, that without troubling himself to write, he charged that prince's commissioner in Rome to summon Archelaus at once thither from Judea. A dream, and its

The first will (Antipas King) C. 6, 1. Tac. hist. 5, 9 : gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. The three cities belonged to the Asmonean dominion. Ant. 13, 15, 4. Pompey, 14, 4, 4. As to the titles of ethnarch and tetrarch, comp. Winer. Archelaus had above £120,000, Antipas above £40,000, Philip £20,000. Salome's inheritance consisted of the whole province of Ashdod, Phasaelis (valley of Jericho) together with Jamnia of Philistia, as well as much money in the royal fortress of Ascalon, which was added by Augustus. Ant. 17, 16, 1. 8. 1. 17, 11, 5. 18, 2, 2. B. J. 2, 9, 1. The gigantic gifts to the imperial house, 17, 8, 1. 17, 11, 5. The tetrarchy of Perea had under Herod his brother Pheroras, 15, 10, 3.

* At first from the father Joazar : then his brother Eleazar, 17, 13, 1 : then (ib.) Jesus son of Sia, then again Joazar, 18, 1, 1. (Ewald says, without warrant, that it was done by the Romans.)

† The Samaritans had at first been quietly freed by Augustus from a fourth of the contributions to Archelaus, after the war with Varus. Ant. 17, 11, 4. Hence the turbulence in the time of Coponius. 18, 2, 2.—10 years. Ant. 17, 3, 2. (B. J. 2. 7, 3, 9:)=759—760=6—7. Ewald, 4, 645: A.D. 5. Grätz, p. 204. 7.

interpretation by Simon the Essene, had prepared Archelaus for the worst. The Emperor heard him, banished him to Vienne, confiscated his possessions, and annexed the whole country, together with the holy city, to the province of Syria. A procurator, possessing the right of life and death, and with great powers, controlled by the imperial ruler of Syria, was to carry on the immediate government of the country. His aunt Salome, who had opposed him, was enriched with Archelais near Jericho, and with its palm groves. The long-suffering of Augustus was exchanged for a sudden storm. The people's desire was now fulfilled, in order to embitter the sufferings which came upon them by the reflection that they had so willed it.*

The very first year (A. D. 7, 37 years after the battle of Actium) inaugurated the new dominion with blood, foreshadowing the end by its tragic beginning. P. Sulpicius Quirinius, a man of obscure origin, but who had become consul by his merits, who had been repeatedly of service in the east, and was a brave soldier and true servant of Augustus, and afterwards of Tiberius, (A. D. 21) made his appearance as the ruler of Syria, with a commission from Augustus to raise the contribution from Syria and Judea by a tax which was also to confiscate the property of Archelaus. He came with the knight Coponius, who had been appointed Procurator of Judea, bringing a small force and apparently without suspicion of the difficulty of the task.† The Jews however, both rich and poor,

* 17, 13, 2. 18, 2, 2. B. J. 2, 7, 3-4. For Procurator, comp. Tac. ann. 15, 44, Jos. B. J. 2, 9, 2: ἐπίτροπος, ἐπιμελητὴς, Ant. 18, 4, 2, also ἔπαρχος, Ant. 18, 2, 2. (Philo ὕπαρχος ἐπίτροπος, leg. 1033, ἡγεμὼν, Ant. 18, 3, 1. The commissioners, B. J. 2, 8, 1. Ant. 18, 1, 1. Augustus in person furnished Syria, as provincia validior with legati Cæsaris, legati consulares, præsides, rectores. Suet. Oct. 47, 88. Position of the procurators. (Their own finance, comp. Sabinus) see Winer, Procurators. Vitellius (who had indeed a special commission, Tac. ann. 6, 32) even ventured to suspend Pilate, Ant. 18, 4, 2. Salome, 18, 2, 2. B. J. 2, 9, 1. Comp. Ant. 17, 13, 1.

† Comp. as to Quirinius, Jos. Ant. 18, 1, 1. Tac. ann. 2, 30. 3, 48: but (in spite of his descent) impiger militiæ et aeribus ministeriis consulatum sub Divo Augusto (A. U. C. 720) mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti Tiberium quoque

were at once opposed to a measure which proclaimed slavery instead of freedom, and exhaustion instead of prosperity. The high priest Joazar, son of the house of Boethos, who had been favourable to Herod and to Rome, and who had repeatedly held office under Herod and Archelaus, as a fit tool for each breach of the law, succeeded in making the people at last consent to the ill-omened work.* But he was not wholly successful. The opposition came from the Jewish orthodox parties, from the Pharisees and scribes. Judas the Galilean (or Gaulonite)—who must not be confounded with Judas the son of a robber, who had contended for the kingdom after the death of Herod and was born at the city of Gamala on the eastern side of the sea of Gennesareth—in concert with Zadok the Shammaic disciple of the Pharisees, who was himself a Pharisee in all his principles, declared this tax to be an offence by the Roman power against the one king and ruler of Israel: they did not merely remain in the schools, but came before the people, demanding that slavery should be exchanged for freedom, and promising the help of God, the one Lord, and eternal rewards in the event of failure.† This was a pleasing and popular exhortation, doubly effective in the mouth of a Pharisee: in spite of the late trust in Rome, it might have set the whole land in a flame, if there

Rhodi agentem coluerat. C. Cæsar in Armenia from A. U. C. 753, ob. Feb. 757. Tib. at Rhodes, 748-755. Qui. was succeeded by M. Lollius in his position as rector about 754=A.D. 1. Sueton. Tib. 12. Tac. ann. 3, 48. Comp. Gerlach. p. 42. According to Mommsen, res gestae div. Aug. 1865, p. 123, Quir. succeeded Lollius. This is improbable. See the hist. of the birth. Quir. was therefore in Armenia about 753-754=B.C. 1. Comp. also Suet. Tib. 49. The name is Quirinius, Κύρηνιος, Κυρίνιος (Strabo) in the best MSS. of Tac. and of the O T. (also Sin.): On the other hand Vat. It. Vulg. gives Κυρεῖνος, Quirinus. Comp. Bleek, Synopt. I. 69. Mommsen. Gerlach. Röm. Statthalter, p. 36. Ewald, 5, 16. The date: Arch. deposed end of 759 (Summer, 759-760) Quir. and census, 37 y. after Actium=Sept. 759-760; therefore Quir. hardly (Mommsen, 115), 759, but in the spring of 760.

* 17, 6, 4. 13, 1, 18, 1, 1.

† Grätz confounds this Judas with the son of a robber, whose appearance is, however, described by Josephus quite differently and much more unfavourably, Ant. 17, 10, 5. Grätz, p. 201. The Pharisaic: Ant. 18. 1, 1. 6. τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν φαρισαίων ὁμολογοῦσι. Zadok, a disciple of Schammai, Grätz, p. 208.

had not been a split between the Pharisees themselves, dividing the moderate and intelligent politicians from the more violent men, (Zealots, Kannaim). Judas however attracted many out of the schools, as well as a multitude of the people. The insurrection assumed great dimensions. The goods of those peaceable men who submitted to the Gentiles as a matter of discipline, were plundered, and their houses burned, which was the origin of the subsequent dagger band (Sicarii). Quirinius with his weak force must have been in some straits, until, as it appears, assistance from Syria turned the scale, the rebellion was crushed, Judas fell, and nothing remained for his followers but the steadfast heroism, which was admired even by Josephus, under all kinds of torture, and even in the contemplation of the sufferings of their kindred and friends. In this manner the tax was "accomplished." But when it was accomplished, Quirinius conceded to the people that Joazar, who had become odious to them, should be deposed.* Still the silent wrath of all the devout remained, not merely against the hateful word census, by which they afterwards called every money payment, but against all the circumstances of their subjection to the Gentiles, of which they were conscious at every moment, even in the most offensive records, in which the name of Moses was coupled with that of the Emperor. Josephus has called the sect of the Galileans the fourth religious sect or philosophy, together with the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. If it is to be so called, it was the philosophy which had the strongest influence on every day life, and which maintained its principles with the greatest obstinacy: it was indeed, which is not mentioned by the politic Pharisee Josephus, simply and unreservedly Pharisaism, which had from the first declared war on Rome, which had greater influence than any sect, represented under each fresh Emperor by fresh leaders, and especially by Judas who still lived in his sons and succes-

* Not from an unknown reason. Ewald, 5, 31.

sors, James, Simon, Menahem, and Eleazar: the undying cry of Freedom and God, the one only Lord! was only silenced when Jerusalem was destroyed amidst all the horrors of fanaticism, and Eleazar at Masada escaped servitude to Rome by his own sword, together with the last thousand of free men. But even in the second century together with Justin and Hegesippus the Talmud mention the Galileans.*

In the first seven years after their incorporation into the Roman empire, Judea and Samaria prospered. It was a principle with Augustus to spare the provinces, and the quick succession of Jewish procurators was in favour of this maxim.† In the religious question which was so hot at that time on account of the decline of heathenism and the advance of the religions of the East into the empire, Augustus, who was himself enlightened, followed the advice of Mæcenas for the moment in holding the middle way of prudent policy.‡ He wished to support the religion of Rome, but also to maintain the national worship of the provinces.§ Therefore he showed his personal contempt for foreign religions, offering no sacrifice in Jerusalem (B.C. 20), even although he interested himself in inquiries about the God of the Jews, a fact from which Philo deduced too wide conclusions, and he commended his grandson, young C. Cæsar, for passing by Jerusalem as a Roman (about the year of Jesus' birth) without offering sacrifice: but, at the same time he, like Cæsar and unlike Cicero, was so anxious to

* 17, 13, 5. 18, 11, 6. B. J. 2, 8, 1. 7, 8, 1. Also Acts v. 35 (indeed with incorrect date, 40-50. A.D.!) Joazar deposed, 18, 2, 1. The records (*e.g.* of divorce) mention God or Moses together with, and after the emperor, Herzfeld, 3, 386, Grätz, 3, 209. We do not here speak of the later Zealots. But Jos. places them throughout in the closest connection with Judas, until the movement spread to Alexandria and elsewhere. Jos. B. J. 7. 8-11. Just. Tryph. 80. Heges, in Eus. 4, 22.

† See the principles of Augustus, Dio. Cass. 53, 23. Comp. Tac. Ann. 1, 9: jus apud cives, modestiam apud socios. Monum. Ancyr. ed Mommsen, 1865: externas gentes, quibus tuto parcere poteri, conservare quam excidere malui, iii. 14.

‡ Dio. Cass, 52, 36. 41.

§ Phil. leg. ad. Caj. 1014: τοσαύτην ποιεῖται τῆς βεβαιώσεως τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις πατρίων, ὅσην καὶ τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν. Comp. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2, 19.

give no offence to the Jewish religion that, after Cæsar's example, and at the request of the Jewish government, he protected the worship of the God of the Jews in every way, and permitted contributions and embassies for the Temple sacrifice, treating the Jews, who had become very numerous in Rome since the campaigns of Pompey and Gabinius, as the clients of Cæsar in their spacious quarter on the other side of the Tiber, showing great consideration for their religion, their customs and their prosperity, and establishing the Jewish council at Alexandria: after the incorporation of Judea, he appointed a burnt sacrifice of an ox and two lambs to be offered daily in perpetuity, out of his own income, and to this the Empress Livia and other members of the family added sacred gifts in the form of cups and vessels to be used for the drink-offering.* In this manner he obtained the reputation of being a restorer of religion, and in the provinces, especially in Judea, of being its liberal protector, and this toleration was in fact of service in a way he had not intended, in the slow but certain conquest of the Western Roman empire, at first by Judaism, the pioneer of a new and higher religion, and then by Christianity.†

Yet, if we turn to Palestine, we shall find peaceful times in the reign of Augustus, since Philo could boast that during this reign no one in the whole Roman Empire ventured to meddle with the Jews.‡ There were three Procurators in quick succession, Coponius, Marcus Ambivius, and Annius Rufus, in whose time Augustus died (A.D. 14). Their names are barely mentioned, except that under Ambivius, King Herod's sister

* Personal respect of Augustus, Suet. Octav. 93, 96. Philo, p. 1035, knows nothing of a sacrifice by Augustus when he was in Syria. C. Cæsar, Suet, Oct. 93. The Jewish religion protected by Cæsar and A. (Ant. 14, 8. 10. Suet. Cass. 84) and Octavianus, as well as by Agrippa, 16, 2, 3, 6, 4. (Comp. 12, 32.). Phil. leg. 1014. 1035. Respect paid to the Sabbath worship of the Jews in Rome in the monthly distributions of money and bread, 1014. The sacrifices and sacred offerings, 1014, 1036. The earlier heathen (and Asiatic) rulers had also presented gifts to the temple. Jos. Ant. 13. 3, 4. Cicero's brutality to the Jews (B.C. 59), orat. pro Flacc. 28.

† Liv. 4, 20: templorum conditor et restitutor, Vellej. 2, 89: sacris honos restitutus. Comp. Horat. Sueton. *l.c.* Phil. leg. 1014. ‡ 1015.

Salome obtained her inheritance by the favour of the Empress Julia (Livia). The tranquillity of their administration, as well as the subsequent history of the Procurator Pilate, proves that these governors tolerated Judaism, even so far as to carry the Roman banners through the city, without the image of the Emperor.* The Jewish worship was only obliged to submit to one innovation after their incorporation: there were two daily sacrifices for the Emperor and for the Romans at the national expense, as well as hecatombs on feast days: prayers were also said for the Emperor in the synagogues, and they took part in the joys and sorrows of Rome "so far as the law permitted." This relation to heathenism was justified by the orthodox Jewish belief that even slavery was appointed by God, and that its instruments were divine: there was the alleviating circumstance that the Emperor himself offered sacrifice, and was a Jew to the Jews.†

Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, changed the system of Procurators when he began his reign (in August, A.D. 14), notably as to the gentle treatment of the province.‡ He only appointed two governors in the course of his twenty-two years' reign (14-27), Valerius Gratus, who held his office for eleven years (A.D. 14-35), and Pontius Pilate, whose administration lasted for ten years (A.D. 26-36.)§ The spirit of government was also changed by its long duration, and by the character of the Empire itself.

In the first place, the tyrannical temper of Tiberius extended to the provinces; and next, the religious indifference of the

* Jos. Ant. 18, 2, 2. 3, 1. B. J. 2, 9, 1.

† Jos. B. J. 2, 10. 4. 5, 13, 6. c. Ap. 2, 6. Phil. leg. 1031. Hecatombs for Calig. thrice, 1041. Mourning for Drusilla in Flacc. 973. Prayers in the synagogue, 972. Divine fate, comp. Isaiah (c. 45) or Pharis. and Josephus. Tragic consciousness of slavery, Neh. ix. 36. Salva lege Phil. leg. 1031.

‡ Motive for change, Jos. Ant. 18, 6, 5. Tac. Ann. 1, 80. Suet. Tib. 32. Later indifference, Suet. Tib. 41. Yet Aug. must have altered the system after the clades Vari. (A.D. 9) Suet. Oct. 23.

§ This is also the reckoning of Ewald, 5, 33, and of Gerlach, p. 54. Grätz assigns 17 21 to Val. Gratus, 28-31 to Pilate, both false. Jos. Ant. 18, 2. 2.

Emperor, who had faith only in destiny and in mathematics, and who in consequence (in the Augustan spirit, as he believed) displayed his enmity to the Jewish colony in the capital, and also to those included in the dominion of Palestine, in consequence of the unscrupulous behaviour of some scribes to a distinguished Roman proselyte (Fulvia).* It is probable that this was in compliance with the Emperor's wishes, or with those of his powerful minister Sejanus, even if the former substantially desired to maintain the temple privileges, and as Philo expresses it, continued throughout his reign to maintain them.†

In the four first years of his government, Valerius Gratus changed the high priests four times, until, about the year A.D. 18, he found in the Sadducee Joseph, called Caiaphas, a willing instrument, who continued in office for about a couple of weeks after Pilate ceased to be Procurator.‡ In consequence of the extortions of the governors, of the procurators, and of the quæstors, the aspirations of the nation for relief reached Rome, even in the early years of the rule of Valerius Gratus.§ But the more violent and bloody conflicts first began under Pilate, of whose character we shall speak afterwards, in the first place on account of the Roman standards, then on account of the use made of the monies belonging to the Temple, and still later on account of the dedication of golden shields in the palace of Jerusalem; towards the end of his rule, there were disturbances in Jerusalem, where he slew the Galileans who were sacrificing at a feast, and in Samaria, where he put down

* Irreligion of the Emperor, Suet. 69. circa Deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicæ. Tac. Ann. 1, 73: Deorum injurias Diis curæ. Dio. Cass. 57, 15. Expulsion of the Jews, Tac. Ann. 2, 85. Suet. 36. Phil. leg. 1015. Jos. Ant. 18, 3. In the spirit of Augustus, Tac. 4, 37. 2, 49.

† Phil. leg. 1033.

‡ Ant. 18, 2. 2. Grätz, 3, 313: cir. A.D. 27-38! As to Caiaphas, comp. my Gesch. Chr. p. 239.

§ Tac. Ann. 2, 42. An example of an extortionate ruler of Syria, Varus, Vell. Pat. 2, 117: pecuniæ quam non contemtor, Syria, cui præfuerat declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit. Thus Philo of a Quæstor, Capito in Palestine, under Calig. leg. 1020. So again of Pilate, p. 1033.

a religious movement with cruelty.* The particulars will be mentioned in the description of the state of religion. The remark was already justified, that the sons of King Herod might get credit as protectors of the national religion when compared with the Romans.† The tyrant moreover, grasping, harsh and malignant as he was, soon learned to respect a nation which was even more indomitable, and the Emperor himself in his later years, after the death of Sejanus, according to Philo's account, confirmed the governor's feeling of respect, by declaring himself a benefactor and protector of the religion which helped to preserve the peace of the State, and by strictly forbidding the decoration of the palace at Jerusalem.‡

On the whole, therefore, we see that the Jewish worship was carried on in peace. The feasts were celebrated with the same splendour as before, and even a man like Pilate was obliged to recognise the gracious custom of granting a pardon at the Passover: Roman troops, however, at least a thousand in number, and often more, kept guard in the courts of the Temple, and in the fort Antonia which commanded it, and the Procurator had his residence in Cæsarea with a chosen body of Romans, whence he could make his appearance in Jerusalem, by way of Antipatris, in twenty-four hours, and the ruler of Syria often attended the feasts at which the nation was particularly disposed to display its temper.§ The liberal influence

* Jos. Ant. 18, 2, 2. 3, 1-2. 4, 1. Phil. leg. 1033. f.

† It is a very instructive fact that the people of Jerusalem arrayed the four sons of Herod the Great and his surviving kindred against the shields of Pilate. This disposition continued under Calig. and Claudius.

‡ Jos. Ant. 18, 3, 1. Phil. 1034, comp. more exact details on the state of religion.

§ Jos. Ant. 18, 2, 2. 20, 5, 3. B. J. 2, 12, 1. Residence of Cæsarea. Ant. 18, 3, 1. Phil. p. 1034. The road from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, in forced marches, in 24 hours, reconciled, Acts xxiii. 22, 23. Antipatris (named after Herod's father) an intermediate station in Jos. Act. also in Talmud. (Comp. n. Calig.) The minimum garrison at Jerusalem, 1000 men, one cohort σπεῖρα, τάξις, χιλίαρχος=tribunus) B. J. 2, 15, 6. 3, 4, 2, Ant. 20, 5, 3. Acts xxiii. 23: also cavalry, Acts ib. Ant. 20, 8, 6. Paul escorted by 470 men, comp. Acts, ib. Reinforcements came from Samaria, Ant. 18, 3, 1, and from Cæsarea, B. J. 2, 15, 3. Hence B. J. 5, 5, 8, is inaccurate, B. J. 5, 5, 8; a τάγμα=legio (comp. B. J. 2, 18, 9, 12; 2, 19, 7. the

of the scribes offered no opposition, and even the judicial powers of the Sanhedrim, which met in Jerusalem, had only an apparent existence, since its sittings were sanctioned, and its convictions confirmed, by the Procurator, since the time of Coponius.*

The fall of Pilate procured concessions for the nation, such as they had scarcely enjoyed in the time of the Maccabees. The governor of Syria, Lucius Vitellius, whose son was afterwards Emperor, who was more esteemed in Palestine than afterwards in Rome, to which he carried his eastern manners, not only lightened the taxes and gratified the people by first deposing Pilate, and then the high-priest Caiaphas, but he delivered up the high priest's garment, which had been carefully retained in the fort Antonia by the Maccabees, by Herod and Archelaus, and had only been produced for the feast-days and great sacrifices. In the spring of the year 37 he refrained, at the request of the leaders, from marching through the land with his troops and standards, although he was hastening to the aid of Antipas against the Arabs: he also went to the feast with Antipas, in order to sacrifice to God, in which he scarcely fol-

ordinary garrison. There were Italian cohorts in Cæsarea (Acts x. 1. xxvii. 1,) in Cæsarea and Samaria, altogether 5 cohorts, 2 alae. Ant. 19, 9, 2. B. J. 2, 4, 1). Garrisons also in Ascalon, B. J. 3, 2. 1, and in the fortresses. In the *whole land about one legion*=4000 to 10,000 men. Comp. 17, 10, 1. B. J. 5, 5, 8, 7, 1, 2 : probably a portion of the three Syrian legions which were there in A. U. C. 750, and which, in 776, after the incorporation, were raised to four. Tac. Ann. 4, 23, h. 2, 4. Ant. 19, 9. B. J. 2, 18, 9. See also Mommsen, 46. See for the localities of Jerusalem the Hist. Jesus.

* Coponius comes with the jus gladii. Bell. Jud. 2, 8, 1, Comp. the trial of Jesus. (Joh. xviii. 31) and again, p. 184, Anm. Winer, 2, 641. Grätz, 3, 492. The relation of the Romans to the Sanhedrim will be defined by succeeding facts. (1) The Romans sanctioned the Sanhedrim, Acts xxiii. 15, 20. Jos. Ant. 20, 9, 1, and indeed since they appealed to it, or allowed an appeal to be made, Acts xxiii. 15. (2) The Romans here confirmed capital punishment. B. J. 2, 8, 1. Comp. Ant. 20, 9, 1, John xviii. 31. (3) The Romans were very well received, Ant. 20, 9, 1, as long as there was no question of executions. (4) Since the time of the Emperor Claudius (41) Agrippa M. at first, then his brother Herod (after 46) afterwards Agrippa II. had the ἀπιμέλεια ἱεροῦ (Ant. 20, 1, 2. 20, 9, 7) and Agrippa convoked a Sanhedrim (20, 9, 6.) But his competence to do so was a disputed point between him, the high-priest, and Rome, 20, 9. 1.

lowed Pilate's example.* Immediately after this, the crazy C. Caligula, who was on the throne of the Cæsars, began his attacks on Judaism, (A. D. 38-40): but when these terrible years were past, the Emperor Claudius repeatedly and expressly asserted the principle of religious freedom, placing religion and the temple rites under the personal charge of the Jewish royal family which was once more reviving, and it went so far that Roman soldiers who derided the Jewish religion were executed.† All these concessions, and even the fact that many captains and soldiers were favourable to Judaism, did not exclude maltreatment, a feeling of insecurity, and the anguish of oppression: and Claudius himself, after the death of his friend Agrippa, (A.D. 44) appointed Procurators in the person of Cumanus, and especially of the cruel Claudius Felix (A.D. 52) who, supported by the powerful freedmen who were the Imperial advisers, and relying on their soldiers and on the fortifications of Herod, prepared the way for the desperate national resistance under Nero.‡

While Judea and Samaria endured the long trials of subjection to Rome, the rest of Palestine was under the rule of Herod's sons. They were the miniature likeness of their father, hindered from his magnificent influence, at once by the narrowed limits of the country, and by their diminished vigour both in talents and in passions. His virtues and failings were however remarkably distributed: Archelaus represented Herod's worst side; Philip bore his best features, and Antipas took the middle part, falling heir to that which was little and base in the paternal inheritance.

* 18, 4, 3. 5, 3. Comp. as to him, Suet. Vitell. 2: vir innocens et industrius, but devoted to women and to Caligula.

† 19, 5, 2, 3. 20, 1. 20, 5, 3, 14. B. J. 6, 2, 4. For Caligula, see the state of religion.

‡ Comp. only Jos. Ant. 20, 6, 3. Then the trifling of the Procurators with the temple privileges of Agrippa II. 20, 9, 1. Even the temple monies were not safe, 20, 9, 7. B. J. 2, 15, 6. Roman proselytes, Matt viii. 5. Acts x. 1. Comp. Tac. H. 5, 25. Suet. Vit 2.

Herod Antipas was for a period of forty-three years, from Augustus to Caligula, tetrarch of that territory which had appeared to take the second place in the great partition of Herod's inheritance, although it pleased God that the country subject to this prince should decide the spiritual history of Israel, since Galilee and Perea were the scene of the Baptist's appearance, and that of Jesus of Nazareth.* The prince to whom these countries were subject was insignificant in every point of view. He was an imitator of his father, especially in three particulars, in hoarding, in servility, and in his love of building. He heaped up enormous treasures in the Holy Land, and together with the treasury, he had great arsenals.† At the same time he exerted himself as zealously as his father to obtain the Imperial favour, with such success that he was required to furnish Tiberius, who loved the servile flatterer, with submissive reports.‡ His erections were for the most part, acts of homage to the Emperor. The city Tiberias was dedicated to him, A.D. 22, which was raised in the fairest part of Galilee, in the upper end of the sea of Gennesareth, and in the neighbourhood of the hot springs of Emmaus, where there had been nothing but the reeds of the lake, which became the arms of the city, and a grave-yard which was for a century afterwards an object of fear to the Jews, (the site of the ancient Raccath). In order that it might be quickly peopled he not only constrained Galileans to settle there, but adventurers of all kinds, particularly Greeks, poor people and slaves, who were attracted by the assignment of houses, lands and various privileges, as well as men of greater distinction, in order to give dignity to the imperial city. Antipas himself resided there, building a strong fortress with great military stores, a splendid palace, adorned with figures of animals, and decked with gilded hangings, and with candelabras of Corinthian brass: to the city he gave a beautiful market-place, and an amphitheatre,

* Elsewhere it is only called Galilee, the pars potior. Jos. Ant. 18, 5, 4.
† 18, 6. B. J. 2, 9, 6. ‡ 18, 2, 3. 4, 5.

of which the remains are still visible, and declared it to be the first city of Galilee, instead of Sepphoris. On account of its origin and manner of building, the city had a strong Gentile colouring, and was a seat of the Greek culture which was offensive to Judaism, and shortly before the fall of the holy city, the leaders in Jerusalem demanded the destruction of the palace of Antipas.* In Perea, also, Antipas did honour to the imperial house by the fortified city Julias (Livias). Finally, he restored the splendour of the old city of Sepphoris, in the midst of Galilee, which had been wholly destroyed in the war with Varus, and all the circumstances made it once more far superior to Tiberias.†

There was nothing striking in the prince's personal qualities. He had a taste for sluggish apathy, was timid and without any spirit of enterprise in peace or in war, and was quickly embarrassed and ready to despair: at best, he possessed the contemptible cunning of the fox, which is ascribed to him in the Gospel.‡ He was drawn by his wife, and against his will, into his most decisive actions. In matters of religion he was obtuse, and without conviction, as well as without settled policy, since he irritated the Jews unnecessarily in the establishment of cities, and did not, by his opposition to the Procurators, possess himself of the national sympathies which were ready, when subject to Pilate, to regard the sons of Herod as an unlooked for and undeserved piece of good fortune.§ His only affections were for his riches, of which he made an unworthy use in his relations to others, for banquets and for women.‖ His passion for Herodias, his brother Herod's wife, whom he visited on a journey to Rome, would not allow him to consider that he became by his marriage to her criminal towards his brother, a transgressor

* 18, 2, 3. Jos. Vita, 9. 12, 13. B. J. 2, 21, 6. Comp. Sepp. Jerusalem und das heilige Land, ii. 35, Raccath, Josh xix. 35.

† 18, 2, 1, 3. B. J. 2, 9. 1.

‡ 18, 7. Luke xiii. 32.

§ Phil. leg. ad Caj. 1034.

‖ 18, 6, 2. 7. 1.

of the law, and an object of enmity to the Arab chiefs of his father-in-law, and finally the murderer of John the Baptist. With all this, it cannot be denied that he must have been a tolerable ruler, since his people bore with him forty years. Josephus mentions no complaints, except those caused by the murder of the Baptist. The Galileans were undoubtedly less difficult to deal with in matters of religion than the Jews, but they would have risen against extortion. There was therefore some merit in that "love of peace" which was otherwise injurious to him.*

The star of the tetrarch Antipas set with that of his patron Tiberius. His good fortune was obscured some years before the Emperor's death; in the year 34 a journey to Rome did not avail to procure for him the inheritance of his brother Philip, which soon afterwards fell, as if by chance, to his brother-in-law. A war with the Arab chief Aretas was the consequence of this journey, which ended in an important reverse (A.D. 36). The murder of John the Baptist was also the consequence of this journey, which revolted his own people, and led them to triumph in his reverses. After this any active help from Rome against the Arabs was lost in consequence of the death of Tiberius, and of the Roman governor's refusal, who withdrew to winter quarters at Petra.† But the worst was to come with a second journey to Rome. Since Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, who was son to the convicted Aristobulus, and had formerly been a spendthrift beggar, a robber and an inspector of markets under Tiberius, had now become by the favour of his friend, the new Emperor Caligula, tetrarch of Philip's district with the title of King (in the spring of the year 37): and since Herodias had seen her brother, most probably at the feast of tabernacles in Jerusalem, pass through the crowds to display the vanity which ended only with his life, in an upstart's

* 18, 7. 2.

† 18, 5. 1-3. Further details in the hist. of the Baptist and the chronology of the appearance of Jesus.

ostentation of royal splendour, in wearing the diadem and the gold chain which Caligula had hung round his neck, and accompanied by the guards he had obtained in Alexandria, who were armed, and bore silver shields (in the autumn of 38): since that time Herodias gave her husband Antipas no peace, reviling him as an obscure and worthless man, because his natural disposition and dread of the state of things in Rome held him back, until he journeyed with her to Rome (in the spring of the year 39) with truly royal pomp and with no stint of gold and silver bars to be used for bribery, in order that he might obtain from Caligula the title of King. But Agrippa was the first to arrive, and had accused his brother-in-law, with whom he had quarrelled from the first, of a conspiracy with Sejanus and with the Parthians, and of having collected weapons for 70,000 men, and since Antipas frankly assented at Baiæ to Caligula's simple question as to his store of weapons, he was ruined, and was at that same hour condemned to eternal exile, on account of his insatiable avarice: he was restricted to Lyons (the "Wars of the Jews" say to Spain), and had this only comfort, that Herodias shared his misfortunes until his death, perhaps also that, if his rival brother Archelaus, who had been banished to Vienne, still lived, he might confer with him on the mutability of all things human (A.D. 39).*

A.D. 40, Agrippa stepped into the inheritance; the same whose vain display in one and the same year (38) irritated the people of Alexandria at the beginning of the Jewish persecutions

* 18, 7. B. J. 2, 9, 6. While in 18, 7, 2, the deposition of Antipas is assigned to the second year of Calig. (38-39) 19, 8, 2, is in favour of the fourth year (40). But the year 39 must be accepted (18, 16, 11). Agrippa first came as a king to Palestine in the year 38. Comp. Phil. leg. ad Cai. 1017: (2) Agrippa remained behind in Palestine (18, 7, 2) while in the year 40 he was again in Rome (Phil. 1029. Jos. 18, 8. 7). (3) Calig. was in Baiæ and Puteoli before the German campaign, *i.e.* 39. Suet. Calig. 13. (4) The Alexand. embassy journeyed to Rome in the winter 38-39, and was with the Emperor at Puteoli (leg. ad Cai, 1019). The assertion of the fourth year is intelligible, since Agrippa entered into possession of Galilee in the year 40. Yet Leg. ad. Caj. is also in favour of the year 39. Also the coins (Ech. 1, 3, 486) show one of Antipas of the year 43. Ewald, 695, also puts the deposition in 39.

under Caligula, and also aroused the deadly jealousy of his relations. And it was at the same time, and almost in the same place (at Puteoli and Baiæ) that Philo, as well as Antipas, suffered under the caprices of the Roman tyrant, as the leader of the embassy of Alexandrine Jews.

The picture which history gives of Philip, who was the King's son by Cleopatra of Jerusalem, is more favourable. In his person it is possible to become reconciled to the house of Herod. His dominion in the north-east of Palestine was the scene of the last journey made by Jesus. One sign in his favour was the confidence with which Archelaus appointed him administrator of the kingdom, and with which Varus, the ruler of Syria, supported his pretensions to the crown, when the views of Archelaus were frustrated. As soon as he was appointed tetrarch he lived only for his country, which he never left, and he reigned prosperously for thirty-seven years, up to the twentieth year of Tiberius. He founded the city of Cæsarea Philippi, by the sources of the Jordan, in honour of the Imperial house, with the stereotyped title of flattery in use among these petty vassal princes; and to the north of the Sea of Gennesareth he transformed the village of Bethsaida into a large and prosperous town, Julias (after the daughter of Augustus), in which he took up his residence. In this manner he proved his allegiance to the Romans, and he went so far as to impress the image of Augustus on his coins, from which even Antipas and Rome itself refrained. In other matters he aimed at the well-being of his subjects, without the over-activity of Herod; he demanded moderate taxes; he was a just judge, merciful to the poor and persecuted. He travelled unostentatiously, with few followers, without respect to the characteristic eastern custom of taking all the royal state upon a journey, and vindicating its privileges on the highways. The country became prosperous, and even the rude Trachonitis became populous. Since he left no children by his marriage

with Salome, the daughter of Herodias, Tiberius, passing over his friend Agrippa, annexed the tetrarchy to Syria after his death.*

The later history of these countries belongs to the apostolic age. We must record that in the Herodian Agrippa, a descendant of Aristobulus, the slaughtered son of Herod the Great, and the treacherous brother-in-law of Antipas, the sun of good fortune rose once more upon the Holy Land, contrary to all expectation, since he ruled over the tetrarchy of Philip as king, from A.D. 37, and also over that of Antipas from 39-40, and was afterwards (in the year 41) put in possession of all the territory which had belonged to his grandfather by the Emperor Claudius. He became, in the noblest sense of the word, an Asmonæan Herodian, the protector of his people. But we must add that the vision was brief. As early as the year 44, in the 54th year of his age, the popular king died at Cæsarea, and Rome stepped into almost all his succession. His son, Agrippa II., then seventeen years old, gradually obtained under Claudius (in the years 48 and 54), and under Nero (in 54), a moderate kingdom, which only included the tetrarchy of Philip, together with fragments of Galilee. From the year 44 the Romans ruled alone in Jerusalem, although between the years 46-48 Agrippa's brother Herod, and afterwards Agrippa II. himself, was permitted to order the temple rites; and since he, like all his family, was too favourable to the Gentiles, and not always considerate towards his nation, he, in alliance with the Romans, lived through their desperate conflict, only in order to see at last, when he was an old man under Trajan, the ruins of Jerusalem.†

* B. J. 2, 9, 1. 6. Ant. 18, 4, 6. Trachonitis, 17, 2, 2. Marriage, 18, 5, 4. For the coins, comp. Ewald, Gesch. Israel, v. 46. 2nd Ed. 1. Rom. see Renan les apôtres, 1866. p. 144. Cæsarea, comp. Suet. Oct. 60. reges amici atque socii, et singuli in suo quisque regno, *Cæsareas* urbes condiderunt. The temple of Augustus and of Rome after 725. Suet. Oct. 52. Tac. Ann. 1. 10. 4, 37. Dio, 51, 20. Mommsen, vi.

† Comp. p. 190. He betrayed his last inclination in Berytos, which he filled with heathen images. Ant. 20. 9, 4. So also his father. Comp. 19. 9. 1.

SECOND CLAUSE.

THE RELIGIOUS GROUND-WORK.

In the stormy times in which the Holy Land had been involved for ages by the great nations contending for its possession, the people of God was concerned about quite other losses from those which were merely political: it was in danger of losing itself, its spiritual existence. Are we to suppose that there was any want of steadfastness in the divine purpose, when a nation for which the finger of God Himself seemed to have formed this corner of the Mediterranean, with all its bulwarks of the sea, the mountains, and the deserts, should become at a definite point of its history a ball to be tossed from one to another and an object of barter to all conquerors? Or can the eye discern even from afar the ways of divine wisdom, which has caused the acquisitions made by the Spirit in this quiet scene of His working to flow forth and once more enrich the world, which has not only nerved the thoughtful spirit abiding there to the most earnest steadfastness by the fiery trial of incredible earthly suffering, but by the utmost daring of an ideal contempt and conquest of the things of this world, has raised the heart towards heaven by its victorious struggles?

FIRST SECTION.

The Enlightenment of the Jews.—Philo of Alexandria.

Israel did not come out from its enforced intercourse with the Gentile world altogether uninjured in character and peculiarities, but it became in great measure a teacher, as well as a learner. Exile had fortified the old belief with the

elements of Eastern, and especially of Persian religion, and possessed it with the ideas of a hierarchy of good and evil spirits; Greek culture, which was the more readily adopted in consequence of the opposition made to it, and which was superior in science, art, and polish, had flowed in with greater and more irresistible force after the time of Alexander the Great, who had in his person magnanimously relieved the high-priest Jaddua and the people of Jerusalem from care. Under the Macedonian, Sichem was erected with the temple of Gerizim as a place of refuge for all who despised the law of Jerusalem; under his successors Greek education, science, art, religion, and licentiousness began to obtain an entry from Egypt and Syria. From the middle of the third century before Christ a tendency to Hellenism had crept in through the most ancient and high-priestly families, in particular through the Tobite Joseph, the farmer of taxes and popular officer under Ptolemy Euergetes, and through his son Hyrcanus, whose family was connected with David: in the same circles, as for instance by the high-priest Jason, afterwards Alkimos, heathenism was openly asserted under Antiochus Epiphanes, and this induced the King of Syria to improve the Jewish customs (as Tacitus expresses it) to put an end to the ancient religion, to be vehement against its followers, and to consecrate the temple of Jerusalem to the Olympian Zeus.* (B.C. 168.) The war of liberation of the priest Mattathias and his "Zealots" (Chasidim) against those who were without law (beginning B.C. 167) was an act of the truest emancipation in the sense of pure religion; but the Greek friendship was soon renewed, especially after the time of Aristobulus I., who bore the title of "Phil-hellene," and caused Greek coins to be struck, and this was even the case in the

* Alexander the Gr. Ant. 11. 8. Joseph, Hyrcanus (related to the high-priest Onias) 12, 4. Connection with David, according to the breviar. Phil. in Herzfeld, 1, 379. Condition in the times of Antiochus, 1 Macc. 1, 11. Ant. 12. 5. Tac. histor. 5, 8. Comp. Ewald, 4, 372. Jost, i. 246. Gratz, iii. 26. Herzfeld, ii. 186. Oehler, Ant. Volk. Gottes. Also Grossmann – de philosophia Sadducaeorum, Programm. iv. (1838), as well as inf Pharisaism and Sadduceeism.

families of those leaders who had taken part in the war of liberation; Alexander Jannæus, surrounded by foreigners and mistresses (B.C. 105-79) systematically ill-treated the national party, and after the short and favourable interval between Alexander and Hyrcanus, came the long era of Herod, the flatterer of foreigners.*

The adoption of foreign ways was much more decided among the dispersed Jews, than in their native land of Judea. The countless Jews who filled the world, even as the sun runs its course from east to west, were cast among other nations, in one case by national misfortune, in another by their eager spirit of enterprise, these thousands in Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, and Rome adopted, as we can easily understand, not only the language, but in part also the customs of the foreign land.† They readily adopted Greek and Roman names, as we see in the names of the Alexandrine Gerontes; they followed every occupation, agriculture, merchandise, traffic, and seafaring, and also such as were most profane, play-acting, soothsaying, and brothel-keeping; they intermarried with the Gentiles, and frequented (even the pious Philo of Alexandria) the heathen theatre and the fights of gladiators. Philo continually deplores their falling away from national customs, their conversion of literal commands into mere ideas, their indifference to divine worship, and also the existence of irreconcilable scoffers at the sacred history, and in his own family it came to pass that his nephew Tiberius Alexander, who was afterwards Procurator of Judea, under Claudius Cæsar, went over to heathenism.‡

* Aristobulus, Ant. 13, 11, 3. Jannaeus, 13, 13, 5. 13, 14, 2 B. J. 1, 5, 1. ἑλληνικὴ πολιτεία, Ant. 12, 5, 1, ἄνομοι, 1 Macc. ii. 44. ἐπιμιξία, 2 Macc. xiv. 3. Comp. Grätz, iii. 99. Oehler, p. 283.

† The diffusion of Judaism, Jos. c. Ap. 2, 39. B. J. 2, 18, 7. 3, 3. Phil. leg. ad Caj. 1031, 1023. in Flacc. 971. Seneca, ap. Aug. civ. D. 6, 11.

‡ I need only refer to the Jewish actor Aliturus, under Nero, (Jos. Vit. 3.) to Poppæa, to the Roman satirist's description of the Jewish soothsayers, who made use of the name of Jupiter, and mentioned the heathen gods, together with Solomon and Moses in their magic formulas; to the brothel-keepers, &c. Comp. Juvenal, 8, 159. Plin. H. Nat. 30, 2. Mixed marriages mentioned in the O. T. comp. 1

And yet there ever revived, even beside the tendency to modern and Hellenic thought, the special peculiarities, the dependence on the law, of which Philo so often boasts, the pride in an ancient and sacred history, and even in the Jewish name, and a glowing zeal—which was crowned with remarkable success—for the conversion of the Gentiles: the scattered sons, together with their converts, streamed up to the feasts in the city of their great King, from the east and from the west, from Rome and from Babylon, and even from Egypt, in which place a special temple had been built at Leontopolis, in the times of Antiochus (cir. B.C. 160): and their ambassadors at these feasts brought treasures and holy offerings to the Temple which was dearer to them than all else, thus arousing the bitterness of the unfavourable Gentile spirit in the person of Cicero, and, a little later, in the time of Crassus, the treasure was plundered, although not wholly exhausted.* The strongest combination with Hellenism occurred in Egypt, where, favoured by the Ptolemies, a million of Jews lived; and of the five districts of Alexandria with its 300,000 free inhabitants, more than two of these consisted of Jews.† It was here especially that they lived with a higher mission than that of transferring the granary of Rome to the ships of the Mediterranean: they undertook to mediate between the culture of the east and west; and, indeed, in a manner which was full of dignity and independence, without national self-assertion, and also without losing their

Cor. vii. 1, Acts xvi. 1, xxiv. 24. Philo in the theatre; see his treatise: Quod omnis prob. liber. Frankf. Edit. 1691, p. 869, 886. ἤθη πάτρια κινοῦσι, D. vit. Mos. I., p. 607. Scoffers, D. nom. mut. 1053. Herzfeld, p. 515. Tib. Alexander, Ant. 20, 5, 2.

* Comp. Phil. in Flacc. p. 211. Comm. 2. Self-consciousness, Rom. ii. 17, Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9. Proselytes, Jos. c. Ap. 2. 39. Hor. Sat. i. 9, 70. Tac. hist. 5, 6. Coins, Cic. pr. Flacc. 28. Hieropomp. Jos. 18, 9, 1. Μητρόπολις, ἱερόπολις, leg. 1031, Matt. v. 35, Rev. xx. 9. Temple treasure, comp. Crassus, Sabinus, Pilate, Agrippa II, and Florus. Comp. Grätz, p. 122.

† Dispersion through Egypt, Phil. in Flacc. 971. Quarters, 973. Occupation: peasants, merchants, sailors, artizans, 974. Gerontes, 976. As to Alexandria, see also B. J. 2, 16, 4. Comp. together with Ewald and Oehler, Jost. 1, 371. Gratz, 3, 26. Herzfeld, 3, 436.

national existence in foreign influences, and since Judaism was enriched by the thoughts and polish of Greece, and the Gentile world received at the same time that which was the imperishable essence of the Mosaic, purer conceptions, pure and humane morals, only in an enlightened Greek form.* Jewish philosophers, of whom Aristobulus the Aristotelian is the first we can distinguish (B.C. 160), and who was probably born a Galilean, Jewish poets and historians made their appearance, and elaborately converted Moses into a Greek philosopher, and the philosophers into the patrons and clients of Hebrew wisdom: the translation of the Old Testament into the Greek form of speech and even, by the influence of the philosophers, into a Greek form of thought, constituted the central point of all the modern literature, and was religiously maintained. Philo of Alexandria, the contemporary of Jesus, gives the most complete picture of the speculations of modern Judaism, as they are represented to us in a tolerably connected form by the Septuagint translation, by Aristobulus the Jewish Sibylline poet, by the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach (cir. B.C. 130), and by the book of the Wisdom of Solomon, which is probably much later, and in fact Philonistic. A history of Jesus cannot pass over the man who, from his time and from the points at once of similarity and of unlikeness, demands the comparison, even although the course of the life of Jesus did not, as it will appear, come into any contact with that of Philo.†

* Philo can testify to the dependence, even of the Egyptian Jews, on the law: simplicity of life, and also of diet. (in Flacc. 979.) Modesty and retirement of the women, and maidens, p. 977; triumphant martyrdom, ib. although those who fell away were not wanting. (979.) Among the things which attracted the Gentiles, Jos. c. Ap. 2, 39, mentions: Union, benevolence, diligence, heroism even in suffering for the law.

† For the Jews of Alexandria, see especially Aristobulus and Sept. Comp. Eus. 7, 32, præp. ev. 9, 6. 13, 12. Clem. strom. 1, 15, 22. 5, 11. *Valckenaer*, diatribe de Aristobulo Judaeo, 1806. *Ewald*, 4, 308. *Ochler*. *Fritsche*, al. Bibel (Herzog). Also *Herzfeld*, 3, 473, 564. *Frankel*, Ueber die palästinische und alexandrinische Schrifterforschung. Progr. 1854. *Jost*. Gesch. des Judenthums I. 367. *Grätz*, 3. 26. *Zeller*, Philosophie der Griechen (1. A.) III. 2, 529. Philo of

Philo, to whom the later Jews have given the Hebrew name of Jedediah, may have been born about twenty years before Christ, since, in the year A.D. 39, on the occasion of his embassy to the Emperor Caligula, he describes himself as an elderly man.* He was brother to Alexander, a leading man both by his family and his wealth, in the community at Alexandria, president of the Jews (Alabarch), and himself (according to Josephus) so renowned that he took the first place in an important deputation of three to Caligula, in the interests of his oppressed countrymen. He, as well as Alexander, was on intimate relations with the Jewish royal family (a sign of more liberal views), as well as with King Agrippa, to whom his brother was a banker, a friend, and finally even a kinsman, and he was the unwearied protector of the rights of the nation, especially under Caligula. His family was so closely connected with the Temple of Jerusalem, notwithstanding the one which was in Egypt, that the gold and silver plating of nine of the temple-doors proclaimed the splendid beneficence of Alexander. The elevation and stainlessness of his disposition crowned the nobility of his race, and the exalted learning of which Josephus also speaks: living from his youth up in his philosophical ideal, he was not susceptible of the charms of sensuality, riches and honour, and a contrast between his like-minded wife and the love of finery in women in general prompted the proud saying,

Alex. alone has called forth a whole literature, comp. *Grossman*, Questionæ philonianæ, 1829. Also *Schäffer*, 1829. *Gfrörer*, Gesch. des Urchristenthum, 1831. *Dahne*, Jüdisch-alexandrinische Religions-Philos. 1834. *Riehm.* Hebräer. Epis. p. 249. J. G. Müller, Philo in Herzog, i. 325, xi. 578. Most recently, *Ewald*, vi. 223. *Langer*, 264. The book of Wisdom, even in Jerome's time, Præf. in libr. Sal. ascribed to Philo. According to Grimm, even in A.D. 145. *Ewald*, 4. 626, admits its great agreement with Philo.

* *ἐν ἡλικίαν καὶ παιδείαν*, Leg. ad. Caj. 1018. The year 39 (the journey was in the winter, that is, in the beginning of 39) is evidently indicated from this treatise, and from Josephus (comp. 1017. Jos. 18, 6, 11). Flaccus also appears, the ruler of Egypt, as having been deposed in 38 (autumn), and hence followed the journey, comp. in Flacc. 982. Ewald, 6, 310, puts the journey in 39-40. Jost, i. 38. very inaccurately assigns his birth to about the time of Herod's death. Ewald, 6, 311: 10-20 B.C. p. 239: a. 40, Philo was about 60 or 70 years old.

that a wife's virtue was woman's true adornment.* He lived down to the times of the Emperor Claudius (his brother must have died before the year 46), and an ancient Christian tradition, mentioned by Eusebius, and not without significance, causes the great representative of progressive Judaism to come into similar relations with Peter at Rome, as Paul did with the heathen philosopher Seneca.†

Philo does not claim to be an original thinker, the interpreter of a new philosophy which should overcome the contradictions of the day, nor even to be the organ of a new, divine revelation. Now and then he may assert himself to be the prophet of divine mysteries to the ignorant, or he gives glory to God who has steeped him in the warm sunshine of ideas which are present to his soul: but for the most part he is conscious of proclaiming old truths, which he has learned at one time from Moses, at another from the teachers of the law, at another from the wise men of Alexandria, or from the holy hermits of the desert, or again from Pythagoras, Plato and the rest. He is, in accordance with the spirit of the age, dependent upon others, a man of fusion and reconciliation: but he boldly undertook the difficult task of a mediator which the world alone could explain, and if he did not solve the problem, it was because a higher truth was needed to solve it amid such contradictions, and in learning, acuteness, and vigour of thought and speech he has brought to the task an abundant ability which delivers him from the reproach of absurdity, and which has secured to his aspiring spirit the glory of having defined

* Joseph. Ant. 18, 8, 1. 20, 5, 2. B. J. 5, 5, 3: comp. Ewald, p. 223. Grätz, p. 265. Connection with the Herodians, leg. 1017. 1033. in Flacc. 969. Afterwards also alliance, Jos. Ant. 19, 5, 1. 20, 7, 3. Ewald is desirous to show from the treatises published by Aucher that Alex. was a nephew of Philo. I am on the other hand doubtful, both from Jos. 18, 8, 1, and particularly from 20, 5, 2, whether the death of the assumed nephew, who was, more accurately, a brother, had already taken place in 46. Jos. was also acquainted with these relations. He simply calls the nephew and procurator Tiberius Alexander, by the name of Alexander, 20, 5, 2.

† The leg. ad. Caj. &c. was written in the reign of Claudius. The tradition, Eus. 2, 17.

the chief points of agreement between Hebraism and Philosophy, and also the supreme glory of approach to and indeed of alliance with the greater Master who followed him.

Philo was no headlong Jewish reformer, like so many others of his time, who were ready to part with their Jewish inheritance, and to barter it lightly for the acquisitions of modern enlightenment. He takes his stand on the national philosophy. Abraham, the Chaldean, the father of his race, is the forerunner of all who believe in God and are filled with his Spirit, and Moses, the father of the law, and the theologian, and, above all, the prophet of old, yea, the prophet, lawgiver, priest and king in one, is esteemed by him the greatest of all men, who was thought worthy of the abiding presence of the Spirit of God, and who attained to the supreme heights of wisdom.* The other holy men of bygone times, were, in comparison with him, only disciples and friends, and the greatest men among the Greeks, Heraclitus, Hesiod, Plato, Zeno, and also the Greek lawgivers have learned from him, since of themselves they only dimly perceived the being of God, the universe, and the true law. The ordinary science of the Greeks bore the same relation to the Divine wisdom, as did Hagar the bondwoman to Sarah the princess.† Therefore Philo had made it the chief business of his life to interpret the deep meanings of the law of Moses, which was so important also in its letter, and he has fairly searched out, and has declared with an impressive eloquence much which may now appear to us ingenious trifling, the inner meaning of the law, the ten commandments, the one God and his Providence, the spiritual and moral worship of God, the fact that all his commandments are favourable to man, serving and not threatening him.‡ The Jewish nation

* Comp. as to Abraham the fine passage De nobil. p. 908. Moses, *ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα μέγιστος καὶ τελειότατος*, vit. Mos. I. 602. His four offices, D. praem. 918: *ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσας τὴν ἀκρότητα σοφίας*, Mundi opif. 2.

† De congressu quaer. erud. grat. 427: *σάῤῥα γυνή, παλλακὴ δὲ Ἀγάρ ἡ ἐγκύκλιος μουσικὴ πᾶσα.*

‡ Weight given to the letter, D. profug. 458. *φιλανθρωπία*, D. charit. 697.

is itself the first-born of the Creator, his peculiar and eternal possession; it is the priest and inspired prophet of other nations, over which it must rule, and it will arise anew after every act of violence, even out of the hands of a Caligula, even when the Temple, the Holy of Holies, and all else is lost.* The nation has indeed apostatized from God, and endures the penalty of apostasy, but like a bereaved orphan in the world, it is not forsaken of God: Aaron's rod which brought forth almond blossoms is a sign that the times of the Messiah will bring conversion to the chosen people, and to the world.†

Hand-in-hand with this standpoint of Jewish theocracy there goes a considerable inclination for Gentile culture. In this manner Judaism itself is consciously, and yet more unconsciously transformed, spiritualized, and ethereal ized. All the wise ones of the earth are dear to Philo, from the Gymnosophists of India and the Magi of Persia to the Greek philosophers, who were the "cradle" of all culture, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Cleanthes. The historians and tragedians also take a place in his memory. The wise men of Greece are esteemed by him as virtuous, holy, and godlike men. To him, as to the Stoics, and to Moses, ethics form the highest branch of philosophy, since the final problem of wisdom is purity of life. He even corrects the mythology of the poets by means of allegory. In this manner, finally, he can find a truth in the heathen religion, which would seem almost impossible to a Jew. However much he abhors heathenism, which has chosen the creature instead of the Creator, yet its objects of worship, and especially those visible gods the stars, in some sort represent the Godhead; and he forbids words of cursing, as desecrating the name of God himself, and

κύριος ἀγαθὸς, οὐκ ἀπειλῶν. D. decalogo, 768. οὐ χαλεπὸν De victim, 853. D. praem. 922.

* Comp. Leg. ad Caj. p. 929, 1019.

† Comp. Grätz, p. 302. Sacerdotal position, τάξις ἱερωμένη, D. circumcis. 811. The priestly character is especially shown in the Passover sacrifice, D. septen. et fest. 1120, &c. Times of the Messiah, see inf.

believes that a robbery of the temple at Delphi was divinely avenged.* Under such circumstances Greek ideas necessarily play a considerable part in his own theology. Plato's doctrine of Ideas, the Stoic doctrine of virtue, recur so often to his pen that the ancients said that either Philo platonized, or that Plato philonized.† The far-reaching allegory which had already been applied by Plato and the Stoics to the interpretation of the Greek myths, and which Aristobulus had made familiar in Alexandria long before Philo, was the means of infusing Greek thought into Judaism. The Scripture is full of the allegory of the letter which, after the manner of a body, contains the "soul;" and not merely the law, with its thousand material trivialities, but even the history of the patriarchs disappears in allegory, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are simply personified virtues! So much of the Scripture becomes, when taken literally, mythical, ridiculous, foolish, or profane: who can believe that God made the world in six days, that he talked in a material form with Abraham and Moses, from the thorn-bush or on Sinai? These material images are given by God out of condescension to the weakness of the multitude, which could not otherwise comprehend Him. As God himself once said to Moses: Tell the people that I Am is my name, and I have none other; but to those who are of weaker nature, and desire another name, call me the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the three men who are named for their virtues.‡ Philo is unconscious that he interpolates another, a newer and a higher meaning into the Old Testament. This higher meaning comes originally from God, and he thanks God for calling him to be

* Zeller, p. 596. The heathen: *τινὲς τὸν κόσμον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κόσμοποιὸν θαυμάσαντες*, D. opif. mund. 2. *τὸν δ'ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβυτάτον γεννητὴν—παρεκαλύψαντο*, D. decal. 751.

† Hieron. Cat. 11. and Ep. ad Magn. 83. Clem. strom. 1, 15, 72, calls him a Pythagorean.

‡ Vit. Mos. I. 614. leg. alleg. I. 41: *εὔηθες πάνυ τὸ οἴεσθαι, ἐξ ἡμεραῖς ἢ καθόλου χρόνῳ κόσμον γεγονέναι*. decal. 748 (has God spoken?): *ἄπαγε, μητ' εἰς νοῦν ποτ' ἐλθῃ τὸν ἡμέτερον. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Θεὸς, στόματος καὶ γλώσσης καὶ ἀρτηρίων δεόμενος*. Also see Zeller, p. 601.

the interpreter of his thoughts. God will, in a certain sense, be served both in the letter and the spirit; He allows no man any outward breach of the Sabbath, of the feast-days, nor of circumcision under pretence of a spiritual interpretation. Who shall dare to separate himself as a hermit from the community, so as to provoke reproach? Who will set aside the ordinance of greater men? Who will oppose the divine will by destroying the body, which is the organ of the soul, since respect for the law, which is the body, first reveals its full spiritual sense?*

The theology of Philo is in great measure founded on his peculiar combination of the Jewish, the Platonic, and the Neoplatonic conception of God. The God of the Old Testament, the exalted God, as He is called by the modern Hegelian philosophy, stood in close relations to the Greek philosophers' conception of God, which believed that the Supreme Being could be accurately defined by the negation of all that was finite. In accordance with this, Philo also described God as the simple Entity; he disclaimed for Him every quality, every name, even that of the Good, the Beautiful, the Blessed, the One: since He is still better than the good, higher than the Unity, can never be known *as*, but only *that* He is; His perfect name is only the four mysterious letters (Jhvh.), that is, pure Being.†

By such means, indeed, neither a fuller theology, nor God's influence on the world, was to be obtained. And yet it was the problem of philosophy as well as of religion to shed the light of God upon the world, and again to lead it to God. But how could this Being, which was veiled from the world, be brought to bear upon it? By Philo, as well as by all the philosophy of the time, the problem could only be solved illogically. Yet, by modifying his exalted nature, it might be done. The being of God, incomprehensible by the world, comprehensible only by Himself, containing in itself the fulness of

* Grätz, p. 293. † D. præm. et poen. 916. Zeller, 605.

reality, is the true type of perfection, ever working, ever creating. If not by His being, yet by His work, He influences the world: His powers, His angels, all in it that is best and mightiest, its hierarchy of angels, the instrument, the interpreter, the mediator and messenger of God, His pattern and His first-born, the Son of God, the second God, even Himself God, the divine Word or Logos communicate with the world; He is the ideal and actual type of the world and of humanity, the architect and upholder of the world, the manna and the rock in the wilderness. He creates the world, not in, but with time; and he does not so much create as form it, since he impresses himself, the immaterial universe, as a signet ring on the material which has its being through him, which was void, dark, formless, and without being, disorganized, discordant, the source of all the imperfection and evil which exist.*

The world, so far as it is of God, is a well-ordered city, containing pure goodness, because all that is good comes from God (whose name is good), and because his goodness is the cause of his creation.† Man is the crown and object of the earthly world, a little world, a little heaven, a copy of the Logos, an ætherial stream and ray of the Godhead, the being most allied with God, the divine image, not indeed in body, but in spirit the worthiest temple of God, the offshoot and the son of God, as far as human nature is capable of the Divine. Angels ascend and descend, in order to convey commands and prayers between the Father and his children. The slaying of a man, the holiest creature, is sacrilege. The dignity of humanity is here asserted in two languages, that of the Old Testament and of philosophy.‡

* λόγος and κόσμος νοητὸς, mund. opif. 4. comp. the excellent account of Zeller, p. 608. Riehm, Lehrbegriff des Hebraërbriefs. p. 411. The exclusion of the time assigned for the act of creation particularly apparent, D. mund. opif. p. 3. ἐν ἀρχῇ = οὐ κατὰ χρόνον, χρόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κοσμοῦ αλλ' ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ ἢ μετ' αὐτόν.

† Θεὸς ὄνομα χαριστικῆς δυνάμεως, somn. 589. ὁ ἀγαθότητος, leg. all. 74.

‡ συγγένεια πατρὸς mund. opif. 33. λόγου d. execrat. 936. ἐμφερέστερον οὐδὲν γηγενὲς ἀνφρώπου θεῷ mund. opif. 15. εἰκὼν κατὰ τὸν νοῦν, ib. οἰκειότατον καὶ φιλτατον ζῶον. 17. ἀπόσπασμα 33. ἱερσυλία. D. decal. 763. There is often the

Yet man is fallen. This is represented by Philo in two ways, mythologically, and according to a philosophy based upon the Old Testament itself. According to the one, man lived in an ideal world, allied to the angels and as their equal. But the souls of men approaching the atmosphere of earth were attracted by material desires and sank to earth, assumed mortal bodies, and only a few retraced their steps by means of philosophy. According to the other account, God created two kinds of men, the ideal man after the pattern of God, purely spiritual, incorporeal, sexless, and immortal, and the earthly man, a creature, and not begotten, material, earthly, although with a divine spirit, man and woman, and mortal. Placed on the borders of mortal and of immortal nature, glorious in body and soul, and with the capacity of rising to the immortal, the man, who was the first father of humanity, to whom as a creature the choice of evil was offered, had snatched at material lust in the woman, had chosen that which was hateful and a lie, and as the servant of sensuality and unrighteousness had bequeathed an unhappy and degenerate life to humanity. Heathenism which, even according to the Jewish sybil, had their part in the one spirit of God, had chosen the creature instead of the Creator; Israel was retained by God, but its forefathers had accumulated sins: only by Moses and other holy men, the wild horse of sensual lust had been subdued from their youth up: the multitude was enslaved by evil lust, the source of all that is evil, the flame which consumes the wood, the custom which, when established in childhood, is stronger than nature, and gives up the vessel for ever to an evil savour. There is no man who is without sin, and even the perfect man, if he should be born, does not escape from it. According to Job man is on no day without sin. The stains of mortal nature remain for ever: the attainment of perfect virtue is an impossibility of our nature. Man bears, even

limitation: ὅσον ἠδύνατο δεξάσθαι θνητὴ φύσις, D. nobil. 906. praem. 916. Of God the only good, decal. 768. Angel. somn. 586.

when he is without reproach, the fire of an evil conscience in himself, the sole tribunal which cannot be swayed by eloquence, which is inwardly unhappy, a death in life, ever dying and in Hades; and when death actually comes, scarcely obtaining the beginning of punishment.*

Yet there is a redemption, willed by God himself, and brought to pass by the act of a wise man. Adam's successors still preserve the types of their relationship to the Father, although in an obscure form, each man possesses the knowledge of good and evil and an incorruptible judgment, subject to reason; his spiritual strength is even now aided by the Divine Logos, the image, copy, and reflection of the blessed nature.† Hence it follows, that man can discern and see all the stains with which he has wilfully or involuntarily defiled his life, that man by means of his self-knowledge can decide to subdue his passions, to despise his pleasures and desires, to wage the battle of repentance and to be just at any cost, and by the fundamental virtues of humanity, piety, and justice, to imitate the virtues of the Father.‡ Truthfulness must be included in these virtues, when practicable without an oath, and also that love of man which is ready to lend and to give, treating man as a holy thing, and fulfilling that which was appointed for

* The fall from a higher world, somn. 586. gigant. 285. The two classes of men (the higher according to Gen. i. 26, the lower according to Gen. ii. 7) mund. opif. 30. leg. allcg. i. 46, 57. Comp. my Gesch. Chr. p. 141. Zeller, 638. Fall of Adam, mund. opif. 34. D. nobil. 906. *οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν γενέσει βέβαιον.* m. opif. 34. *κακοδαίμων βίος*, mund. opif. 35. Heathenism, m. opif. 2. decal. 751. Judaism, nobil. 906. Moses, vit. Mos. i. 606. Evil lust, decal. 763. None without sin, d. victim. 846. nom. mutat. 1051. Evil conscience, d. nobil. 906. decal. 751. Living dead: *ἄλθιοι τὰς ψυχὰς τεθνᾶσι.* d. viet. 860. *θάνατος μόγις ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ θείῳ δικαστηρίῳ.* praem. 921.

† Mund. opif. 33: *τοὺς ἀπογόνους τῆς ἐκείνων μετέχοντας ἰδέας ἀναγκαῖον εἰ καὶ ἀμυδρούς, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔτι σώζειν τοῦς τύπους τὴς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα συγγενείας. ἡ δὲ συγγένεια τις; πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ὡκείωται θείῳ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα γεγονῶς.* Good and evil, q. Deus s. immut. 301.

‡ Self-knowledge, d. viet. 848. Decision, d. praem. 912. *μετανοίας ἀγῶνες, δικαιοσύνη, πόνοι ἄτρυτοι καὶ ἀκαμπεῖς*, by means of which *περιποίησις τοῦ καλοῦ*, p. 914. *ἐπακολουθήσας ταῖς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀρεταῖς*, d. nobil. 906.

him in becoming a gentle, peaceful, social citizen of the world.* The reform of morals, the purifying of souls consists mainly in deliverance from *matter*, from flesh and lust. He who has embraced the right decision will do well to fly from house and kindred, friends and country, to go into solitude: he must withdraw from public business, its pressure, tumult, and distraction, he must renounce the pleasures of marriage, as did Moses from the time that he became a prophet, since it is only the unwise who are ensnared by sensuality, he, like the religious hermits, must inure himself to continence which will convert him into immaterial spirit. Theoretic wisdom is even higher than the ascetic, when men thirst after the waters of wisdom, and seek heavenly riches, when they aspire with ardent efforts to contemplate the beauty of the eternal, of that which is above, the world of ideas, the beauty of the great King, the Father of all. Seized with corybantic frenzy, men hasten to Him, press beyond the limits of human nature, are affected by, dazzled, and yet blessed by the flood of divine light: that which is mortal declines, while that which is eternal rises: the whole material nature is lost in a state of stupor, contraction, insensibility, simplification, and ecstasy, and only lives in communion with the divine spirit which involuntarily sways the soul like the strings of an instrument into a life of joy, faith, and contemplation which is blessed, immortal, and divine, and which, while the sensual, clothed with new bodies, wander in death, finds the way open to a future deliverance from this corpse, from the coffin and grave of the body, of which the spirit has already torn asunder the prison wall.†

* As to the oath, see particularly d. decal. 756: *βιωφελέστατον καὶ ἁρμόττον λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἀνώμοτον—ὡς τοὺς λόγους ὅρκους εἶναι νομιζέσθαι.* Advice on this subject in the same place. Man *ἥμερον ζῶον, κανωνίας καὶ ὁμονοίας συγγενές*, d. praem. 924. *ἱερώτατον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κτημάτων*, decalog. 763. Borrowing, praem. 926.

† Flight from the world, praem. 912. Marriage, comp. mund. opif. 35. Hilgenfeld, Apocalyptik. p. 253. Political life, spec. leg. 776. Water to be drunk, q. omn. prob. 867, *ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος ἐν οὐρανῷ*, praem. 926. The corybantic fury, mund. opif. 15. Coffin, praem. 917. See generally, Zeller 645-682.

In such perfection as is possible to all, even to women and to slaves, since no one is a slave by nature, the wise man is truly rich: he is noble and free who can proudly utter the saying of Sophocles, God is my ruler, not one among men! Such a one is priest, king and prophet, he is no longer merely a son and scholar of the Logos, he is the companion and son of God. For whosoever does that which is good serves God, is ruled by the love of God, is even according to the law a son of God, a mortal follower of the great and immortal King, and Moses dares to call him no more a man, but a God among men.* In this place we must not omit the final saying which converts the humiliating fact of universal sin into a triumph of the wise man: is he sinless? Yes, the wise man appears before God with a life which is without reproach; blameless and pure with the purification of perfect virtue, the human soul is the sacred and most acceptable offering to God. The occasional sins of such as are of great virtue and true holiness are such as would be reckoned as good deeds in others.* Jewish Hellenism has never lost consciousness of humble adoration before the Father of all in this proud ideal, derived from the Greeks and Stoics, of a wise man who may unite the Divine nature which has been buried in obscurity with this transitory earthly body, but it is not only the wise who move themselves and the world: God is the eternal guide and director of the world, himself requiring nothing and giving all to his children. It is of his goodness that he does not punish as a judge, but that, as the giver of grace, he bears with all. With Him all things are possible; he deals with all, even with that which is almost beyond redemption. From Him all the world hopes for forgiveness of sins, the Logos the high priest and intercessor, and the patriarchs, pray for it: he grants it, not for the world's sake, but of his own gracious

* The woman, nobil. 909. Slave, d. septem. et fest. 1179. The wise man noble, nobil. 903. The free, q. omn. prob. 867, son of God, decalog. 856.

† Viet. 838. 845.

nature, to those who can truly believe. He loves the humble, and saves those whom he knows to be worthy of healing: his grace elects the pious before they are born, giving them victory over sensuality, and steadfastness in virtue. He reveals himself to holy souls by his Spirit, and by his divine light leads those who are too weak by nature even to understand the external world, beyond the limits of human nature to that which is divine.*

The system of Philo is scientifically untenable as a whole. In the interests of an abstract and unreal idea of God, it disturbs the recognition of the world which rests on God. The divine principle appears only after a restrained and indirect fashion in relation to the world, and the matter which underlies the world stands in perpetual dualism, excluded from any relation to God. This God, since his whole being recoils from any definition, cannot approach the universe: if it is his own, he is merely its architect, and moreover has only formed it by intermediate beings, which, as mysterious and incomprehensible instruments of God, fall back into obscure and shadowy depths, as speedily as they arose from them. This is a marvellous theology, full of contradictions: one God, one world, which fly from each other, and yet in the same theology seek each other with glowing love. The world has given birth to a man who is as a Greek sage, God wandering upon earth, and as a holy man of Israel cannot rest until he, as a son, has found the Father which is above: and God, who is afar off and unapproachable, is not satisfied until he, a bounteous giver and father, has drawn the world and humanity to his heart, until indeed the revelation of himself in all the beams of his majesty, melted together by

* *ἡνίοχος καὶ κυβερνήτης ἄγει ᾗ ἂν ἐθέλῃ, μηδενός προσδεόμενος ἀλλοῦ, πάντα γὰρ θεῷ δυνατά*, opif. m. 9. *πάντα ἐξευμαρίζει ὁ θεὸς, ἃ ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καὶ τὰ δυσκατόρθωτα*, vit. Mos. 1,605. *χρμστὰ ἐλπίζειν οὐ δι' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἱλεῶν φύσιν τοῦ συγγνώμην πρὸ κολάρεως ὁρίζοντας*, d. sept. et fest. 1194. *ἐὰν πιστεύσωσιν (ἀψεύδως*, praem. 914). *ὅτι οἷς ἁμαρτημάτων εἰσερχέται μεταμελείαι, ἱλεῶν τὸν θεὸν ἔχουσι*. vict. 845. *τὸν ταπεινὸν ἀξιοῖ προνομίας*, d. vict. off. 854. *ὅταν κρίνῃ τινὰ σωτηρίας ἄξιον*, praem. 923. Elsewhere see Zeller, 657.

all the idealism of the Old Testament, shall at once be called the Word in one place, and the Man in another.*

As is the theology, so is the anthropology, and such the morality of Philo, in which is summed up all science. True wisdom consists in withdrawal from the world; enthusiastic ecstasy constitutes the highest recognition of the God who can be only forcibly apprehended, and the putting off of matter is the highest virtue. Such morality could only produce ascetic fugitives from the world, not moral and practical men who should be fitted to mould it. The Philonistic sage was wanting in a fitting estimate of all that is needed to become a reformer of the world: he did not understand the true evils of the world, and had no full and deep sympathy with it, since he avoided common life as a folly, he denied the world as well as his God, at the very moment when he united them, and celebrated divine blessedness from the abstract position of egoistic complacency, even while he claimed to be a citizen of the world, a friend of mankind, a possessor of the worth and sanctity of humanity. And even the blessedness was extremely doubtful! At one time it appears as the Greek pride in wisdom, while the Hebrew consciousness can never cease to complain, and rather hopes for grace than attains it, at another it relies vain-gloriously upon self-denials under which the whole man bleeds, and upon divine revelations whose blind force exceeds the powers of human nature.

Finally, we must not exaggerate the value of this reformation, and infusion of new ideas into Judaism. It is plain that it was in this case followed by a cleansing and purifying, since

* God's name of Father (also in the Book of Wisdom) de mund. opif. 33: *ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα συγγένεια*, p. 36: *τὸν πατέρα κολάσεις ὀρίσαι*. But we must beware of identifying this conception of the Father with that of Jesus; as in the O. T. it is not as of one allied in nature, but ever the Creator, merely the *ζωοπλάστης* (leg. all. 77) the *πεποιηκὼς γένεσιν*, q. rer. div. haer. 485: *πατὴρ ὁ γεννήσας τὸν κόσμον*, q. det. pot. insid. sol. 185. *ἀνὴρ καὶ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων*, ib. 182. In the treatise, q. deus sit immutabilis, 301, he shows that since God *οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος*, also the form of speech, God chastises man as a son, only *πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἰδιοπαθείαν εἰσάγεται*. Comp. also Ewald, iv. 631, vi. 282.

the contemplation of the Divine Being took a form more worthy of God, since the spiritual and moral kernel of Judaism was sealed of its shell, and that which was common to all men was accurately set forth in its connection with that which was best in the best nations. But how much was etherealized in Judaism, as well as in God and the world. The external ordinances of Israel especially, sank irretrievably in the dust. He who rigidly filled up the sayings of the prophets in declaring so often and so beautifully that God who was in need of nothing did not require sacrifices and vows, that he took no pleasure in the flesh and fat of beasts, that a grain of incense, a song of praise, even a life of innocence, a noble disposition, was most worthy of God, and that the human soul which was purified by virtue was the most glorious sacrifice, he who pronounced every day to be a feast, and interpreted circumcision by purity of heart and pruning of the desires: such a one, however strongly he might personally advocate the continuance of outward ordinances, and sacrifice himself to the laborious task of finding an interpretation of each material detail, could not, even when he impressed upon them that it was the judgment of the "multitude," wholly prevent the enlightened members of his party from rejecting the outward shell, which by his own admission led in a hundred cases to the grossest superstition in outward action.* He who referred the whole revelation of Israel in a greater or less degree to inward impulses in the souls of holy men, and who declared that all revelation was repeated with equal force in the teaching of the good and wise, he could no longer avert a want of belief in the important external facts of Israel, and still less could he prevent the piety which was indifferent to antiquity from feeling satisfied with the inner light which the divine Spirit, then as now, enkindles in the religious heart.

* *οὐ πολυσαρκίᾳ καὶ πιότητι ζώων χαίρει ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἀνυπαίτιῳ τοῦ εὐξαμένου διαθέσει*, spec. leg. 775. *ἀνεπιδεὴς* ib. Also d. victim, 839-849. Feasts, sept. et fest. 1174. Circumcision, Circumc. 819. Superstition, *παραναπέφυκε κακὸν. δεισιδαιμονία.* plant. Noe. 229. Comp. Herzfeld, 3, 516.

He who depreciated the outward community, despised the material world, ascribing to the wise the unstinted blessing of Divine sonship at all times, necessarily contradicted his most characteristic thoughts when he inspired himself and others with a belief in the coming era of the Messiah in which the nation should at once be spiritually and materially blessed, and which was already in his possession. The firm ground on which the nation stood, its ordinances, its history, and its future, were thus completely undermined; the new enlightenment left everything an open question, and a matter of indifference, renouncing the foundation on which they stood, and establishing no sound progress, because it was ever shifting. However Israel might be extolled as the special people of God, to whom the eternal blessings of the knowledge of God and morality had been committed before all other nations, must not the new school renounce Israel in declaring that she only perpetuated the form of which the essence was known to the wise men among Greeks and Jews?*

And yet, whatever faults we find, history seldom works without mistakes, and even overthrow serves for progress. It cannot be denied that an abundance, and, with whatever want of system, that a true system of highly refined and at the same time truly religious speculations concerning the Father of all, concerning the world which is God's handiwork, concerning mankind and his indelible worth and destiny in spite of all moral weakness, and concerning humanity as one family, have found through Philo in part a new setting, and in part a more congenial foundation. At one time his utterances sound like an oracle of the prophets, at another like a saying of Jesus and of his Apostles, or again like a sentence from Zeno or Seneca: he uses the speech of all tongues, the speech of the modern world as well as of centuries of old. He bears witness to the

* He explains the name of Israel = the one who sees God. Comp. Ewald, vi. 248.

universal circulation of the great ideas of humanity, and of their immense and abiding force. And he is yet more than a witness; he is a guide and director: if he has not discovered the word which brings union, strength and salvation, either as a philosopher or as a religious reformer, yet he has made a way for the new ideas and for the interchange of those which were cherished by Jews and Greeks. He was a forerunner of Jesus, even if he did not know, and was far from equal to him: he scattered seeds in Judaism of which the noblest fruit sprang up in Christianity, and he enforced on heathenism fresh sympathy with the East: he has even presented his teaching to the beginnings of Christianity, as it was perpetuated in Paul and John, and later in the Alexandrine church, and not merely by coincidence of thought. Hence came the specious belief of the Church, that Philo the Jew was a Christian and a friend of Peter.*

SECOND SECTION.

Religion in the Holy Land.

In the Holy Land religious questions took a different form from that of the countries external to it. It was indeed, as we have already seen, not wholly withdrawn from Greek influence. Much before the time of Alexander the Great, in the early beginnings of Greek influence, that book of the Old Testament which we call Ecclesiastes had betrayed a boundless and gloomy scepticism which had been matured by extensive learning, barely and after a contradictory manner maintaining a belief in God and in a retribution, verging on Epicureanism in its despair of all wisdom.† Jesus the son of Sirach, the Hebrew author

* Eus. 2, 17.

† Comp. xii. 12: *τοῦ ποιῆσοι βιβλία πολλὰ οὐκ ἔστι περασμὸς καὶ μελέτη πολλὴ κόπωσις σαρκός.* 1. 18: *ὃ προσθεὶς γνῶσιν, προσθήσει ἄλγημα.* 2. 16: *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ μνήμη τοῦ σοφοῦ μετὰ τοῦ ἄφρονος εἰς τον αἰῶνα:* 9, 2: *ματαιότης ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι· συνάντημα ἓν τῳ δικαίῳ καὶ τῳ ἀσεβεῖ.* 3. 19: *συνάντημα υἱῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ συναντημα τοῦ κτηνους, συνάντημα ἓν αὐτοῖς.* v. 21: *τὶς εἶδε πνεῦμα υἱῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ ἀναβαίνει αὐτὸ ἄνω;* viii. 15: *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὑπὸ*

of a new book of Wisdom at the beginning of the second century, has only maintained a vapid morality instead of the strong faith of Israel.* The confusion of religions, aided by the state of politics, to some extent influenced the schools of those theologians, who were orthodox and fundamentally opposed to heathenism. It was not only the Sadducees and Essenes who adopted foreign principles: from Antigonus of Socho, who was learned in the Scripture and the first Jewish teacher who took a Greek name (cir. B. C. 200) down to the Rabbi Gamaliel, Paul's master, a taste for Greek language and culture is evinced which sought an elaborate justification from the Old Testament (Gen. ix. 27), and the Rabbis had some difficulty in excusing Gamaliel, "the glory of the law," who, out of his thousand disciples, instructed 500 in the law, and 500 in the wisdom of the Greeks, because of his influential position in the kingdom, that is, in the government of the Herods.† A theology which is in fact tinged with Philonistic teaching, which reached the Holy Land through the Egyptian pilgrims and even in the grain-ships of Alexandria, is presented to us in the Samaritan Pentateuch, as well as in the Targumen, that is, in the Chaldean commentaries of Onkelos and Jonathan, which tradition has to some extent connected with Hillel and Gamaliel, the leaders of those who were learned in the Scriptures: dating from Onke-

τὸν ἥλιον, ὅτι εἰ μὴ φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦ εὐφρανθῆναι. On the other hand, again, *e.g.* xii. 1, 13. It is incomprehensible to me (even without considering the language) how the opinion should prevail with many that the book was composed towards the end of the Persian era. Comp. De Wette. Einl. ins. A. T. 382.

* Comp. Fritzsche's Comm. 1860. Also the analysis in Ewald, iv. 340. Jost, Gesch. Judenth. i. 310.

† The conception of the manifold religion (ἐπιμιξία). 2 Macc. 14. 3. 4, 13: ἀκμὴ τις Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Antigonus of Socho, in Judea. s. Pirke Ab. 1, 3. Comp. inf. the Pharisees. Ewald, 4, 357. Jost. Gesch. Judenth. I. 1857, p. 106. Ewald assigns him and his teacher, Simon the Just (310-291), to the beginning of the third century, Jost, and A. as scholar of Simon II. with greater probability to the end: to the time, and to that which followed it, of Antiochus the Gr. (224-187) Gamaliel s. Herzfeld 3, 254. Jost p. 281 (also Gesch. der Israel. seit der Zeit der Makkab.). Grätz, 3 274. Winer, Herzog. The Greek language, s. Lightfoot. hor. hebr. p. 273. Homer, comp. Geiger. Sadd. u. Phar. 1863, p. 7.

los, who is supposed to be Philo's contemporary, we find every material image of God in the Old Testament, such as the mention of His countenance, His mouth, His eye, hand, breath and voice, carefully converted into conceptions of the Divine glory, of the in-dwelling presence and word of God.* The same paraphrase is found in the book of Jubilees, which also had its origin in the Holy Land.† Josephus the Pharisee is also so far infected with Hellenism, that however anxious he was to prove from Daniel and his fulfilled prophecies the workings of God's providence, in opposition to the Epicureans, he prefers the cold and shallow designation of the Godhead, the Divine, Fortune, the course of the world and fate, to the name of God, making use of heathen terms: and at the very moment when he overflows with pious praise of a protecting God, he concludes the account of his almost miraculous deliverance from death in the Galilean war with Rome, and in the caves of Jotapata, with the ingenuous doubt "whether to declare that it was by good luck, or by the Providence of God." His doctrine of immortality is modern. His ideas of morality are for the most part shallow and empty: yet here and there he has drawn a deeper and nobler knowledge from the sources of human philosophy.‡ And, not to speak further of the later Jewish writings, the Apostle Paul, a disciple of Gamaliel in Jerusalem, was essentially imbued with Alexandrine ideas, which he has very evidently transferred to the heart of Christianity in his teaching concerning Christ.§ All things considered, Josephus the historian of the Jewish people, was able to say without hesitation: we are separated from the Greeks

* Comp. as to the Targumen, most recently the detailed discussion of Langen, p. 70, 209-218. Also the introductions to O. T. and Art. Targumen in Herzog.

† Indeed in the first Christian century. Comp. Dillmann. Herzog, xii, 317. Langen, p. 100.

‡ Comp. B. J. 3. 8. 3. 7. Ant. 10, 11. 7. 15, 9, 1. c. Ap. 2, 16. View of signs, B. J. 6, 5, 3. Immortality in heaven, B. J. 3, 8, 5. Moral truths, e. g. c. Ap. 2, 23. Langen, p. 220. Also, Abh. über theolog. Standp. des Jos. Quartalschr. 1865. 1.

§ Comp. as to Paul, briefly, Schneckenburger, Beiträge zur Einl. N. T. 1832, p. 94. Also my Gesch. Chr. p. 135.

rather by situation than by habits, and he was very ready to compare the religious sects of his people with the Greek philosophies: he also mentions men of Greek culture, such as King Agrippa, and learned contemporaries such as Nicolaus, King Herod's historian, and Justus the son of Pistos in Tiberias, as well as numerous aspirants to Greek science.*

Yet in the people of the law, and especially in the holy places which were the seat of the conflict, aversion and even hatred against the stranger, were predominant. Since even the foreign and more pliable Judaism had never overcome the reproach which was perpetuated by Diodorus, by Cicero, Juvenal and Tacitus, in heathen, Greek and Roman literature, and eagerly confuted by Josephus and Philo, that they were a people in religious bondage and sworn to hatred of mankind, this characteristic exclusiveness which kept them within the old bulwarks of distinctive nationality was developed with greater intensity in the Holy Land and in Jerusalem.†

The translation of the Bible into Greek had already been the cause of grief, and even of hatred in Jerusalem.‡ The later Rabbis, both before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in the deadly strife against Rome in the time of Hadrian, have in their fanaticism excluded the favourers of foreign literature from eternal life, and have laid the same curse on those who educate their sons in the wisdom of the Greeks as on swineherds, while others have more mildly permitted the reading of Homer, as if it were "a letter:" but the former

* Nicolaus, s. Jos. Ant. 16, 7. 1, and elsewhere, Vit. 9 (Justus). c. Ap. 2, 10 (the same occupations), Ant. 20, 11, 2 (the aspirants).

† Cic. pr. Flacc. 28. Diod. 34. Ph. I. Juven. 14, 103. Tac. hist. 5, 5 : adversus alios omnes hostile odium. 3 Macc. 7, 4. *πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνσπένδια.* Also Jos. c. Ap. 1. 34. 2, 10, 14. On the other hand, Jos. against Apion, and Philo against Flaccus.

‡ 1, 7, in Lightf. 153: V. seniores scripserint legem græce pro Ptolemæo rege fuitque iste dies acerbus Israeli, sicut dies, quo factus est vitulus, eo quod lex non potuit verti secundum quod est ei necessarium. Comp. Grätz, 3, 36.

have expressed the national spirit.* Not only Origen, but even Josephus, with all his coquetting with the foreigner, betrays his instinctive national aversion. While giving himself the credit, at the conclusion of his Antiquities, of having written a book for the Greeks, which no Jew and no foreigner had hitherto been able to do, he claims credit on the other hand for the national individuality which had hindered his obtaining fluency of speech in spite of his Greek studies. This was the result of national custom, for those were not cordially received who learned many languages and adorned their speech with elaborate diction: it was thought that this pursuit was not the privilege of the free, but suitable to the slaves who followed it. Those only were pronounced wise who had exact knowledge of the law and the scripture. Therefore it is intelligible why, of all who have mastered Greek, barely two or three have turned it to any noteworthy account.†

While the world in general either dispensed with all religion, in which it had ceased to believe, or overleaped their national faith in a marvellous way to approach foreign religions, including Judaism, the spirit of the Jewish people, instead of yielding to their dissolution, was as a whole braced to heroic resistance, to which even the haughty Roman Tacitus gives credit in one particular, that they would not flatter kings by erecting images to them, nor worship emperors. For the second time the nation seized the sharp sword of the Maccabees, and used it in an enlightened form, since it fought only with weapons of the spirit. For the second time Moses arose, since the watchword of the law had never resounded with such might, and instead of the defences of mountains and deserts, which he had sought, every breast was a fortress against which Greece and Rome

* Tr. Sanhed. (R. Akiba): nec eum participem esse vitæ eternæ, qui libros alienigenarum legit. Execrabilis esto, qui alit porcos, execrabilis item, qui docet filiam suam sapientiam græcam. Gfrörer. Ann. 115. Herzfeld, 3, 954. Jost, 3, 99.

† Jos. Ant. 20, 11, 2 (ἡ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβεια). Comp also Gfrörer. Kuhn. L. J. 1, 435.

might beat in vain. Josephus, as well as Philo, celebrated the lawgiver who was a model for all the Greeks; teachers of the law in their missionary zeal proclaimed his ordinances through the east and west, and at Rome even the Jew who had become a Christian relied stiffly on the law in opposition to the Gentile-Christians.* The numerous and distinguished school of the Interpreters, whose office it was to expound the law (scribes and lawyers) flourished in Palestine itself, and their interpretations were summed up in Pharisaism. Hundreds of intelligent youths and men sat at their feet in the courts and halls of the Temple, in the synagogues, important schools of the spiritual ordinances of Israel (of which we reserve the description until we give an account of the youth of Jesus) and in the class-rooms: the poor scholars were supported out of the sacred tithes, and even the common people attended. Hence came the exact acquaintance with the law, even to its details, in all circles, even among women and slaves, the diligent study in families, and the education of children in the Scripture. The Jew, said Josephus, knows the law better than his own name.† The sacred rules were punctually observed, their ineffaceable image hovering before the soul from the time of childhood, as Josephus and Philo declare, and they were hedged in by a multitude of scrupulous and oppressive particulars, devised by the lawyers, from the time of the captivity, from the time of Ezra the scribe to that of Jesus the Deliverer. The uncleanness of the Gentiles was an axiom of this law: hence came anxious reserve, and mistrust even of the poor peasants who had become their prisoners, and hence the exclusion from intermarriage with the priests of the female posterity of the sacerdotal family which had under

* Tac. hist. 5, 5: non regibus hæc adulatio, non Cæsaribus honor. Jos. c. Apion, 2, 16. Missionaries, Antiq. 20, 2. 4, 18, 3, 5. Juvenal. sat. 6, 544: interpres legum Solymarum. Rom. ii. 17: ἐπαναπαὴ τῷ νόμῳ.

† Teachers of the law, τῶν πατρίων ἐξηγηταὶ νόμων, Ant. 17, 6. 2. The people's acquaintance with the law. c. Apion. 1. 12. 2. 18. Phil. leg. ad Caj. 1022. Places of assembly, comp. Herzfeld, 3, 266.

Pompey or Quinctilius Varus fallen into the hands of their enemies the Romans.* The priesthood was held in high honour, although the respect shown to them was in fact due to the lawyers, who were now the spiritual leaders of the people. The priesthood was considered the true nobility of Israel, and offerings to the priests were for the most part voluntary, and indeed brought with gratitude and thanksgiving, as if the obligation were on the side of the giver: their official functions, particularly the sacrifice, were surrounded by reverent crowds of people.† These mediators between God and the people, however, not only failed in Herod's time to preserve the purity of their descent, but also of their outward life: towards the end of Herod's reign the high-priest Matthias was constrained, on account of an act of pollution, to vacate his office for one day, the great day of atonement.‡ Even the worship by night, especially at the feast, was carefully maintained. The worship of sacrifice was so punctually administered that it was an admitted fact, that whoever possessed the place of sacrifice was master of the Holy City, since the people were unable to dispense with the sacrifice. When Herod besieged Jerusalem, the besiegers considered it a proof of his moderation that he sanctioned the admission of the sacrificial beasts, and it was politic to make this concession. When the city was taken by Pompey, under Archelaus, and again in an armed attack by Pilate, those who were sacrificing would not leave the holy places, and the blood of the sacrifice and of men was literally mingled together.§ The law of the sabbath was so rigidly and

* Jos. c. Ap. 1, 7. Hence the demand made by the Pharisee Eleazar before John Hyrcanus, that he should resign the holy priesthood, because his mother had been a captive under Antioch. Epiph. Ant. 13, 10, 5.

† Priesthood. τεκμήριον γένους λαμπρότητος, as elsewhere εὐγένεια. Jos. Vit. 1. Gifts to the priests, Philo. d. sacerdot. honor. 832. Participation, Luke i. 10, 21. Comp. 2 Macc. 3, 18. The theory of the necessary "state" came later. Herzfeld, 3. 188.

‡ Jos. Ant. 17, 6, 4. Ap. 1, 7.

§ Jos. Ant. 15, 7, 8: τούτων (πόλις, ἱερὸν) οἱ κρατοῦντες ὑποχείριον τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐσχήκυσι. τὰς μὲν γὰρ θυσίας οὐχ ἄνευ τούτων οἷόν τε γενέσθαι. Night

conscientiously observed, that on the sabbath day a victory was not followed up, and it was the sabbath rest which threw the city into the hands of Pompey, as it had done earlier into those of the first Ptolemy. In the midst of the greatest scarcity, B.C. 37, the sabbath year was kept. The great feasts were attended by countless thousands, even when the Mosaic rule of attendance at the feasts thrice a year had long been in disuse. The worshippers at the feast of the passover began to assemble in the temple courts at midnight. At the last passover before the war, under Nero, in the year 66, three million must have been gathered there; at the command of the Syrian governor, Cestius Gallus, who wished to heighten Nero's uneasiness, the priests counted the beasts offered for sacrifice and found that there were 256,500, and he calculated that there were at least 2,700,000 people. According to a Rabbinical fable, there were in King Agrippa's time, who caused the kidnies of the sacrificial beasts to be collected, 600,000 pairs, twice the number of men who came out of Egypt, and since there were at least ten persons to each lamb, not six, but twelve million might be reckoned as worshippers. The said Cestius found the city of Lydda empty, because all had gone to the feast of tabernacles. It was for this reason that the garrisons were strengthened at such times, and the Procurator from Cæsarea, or the Syrian governor, were present, and hence came occasions of revolt, and the frightful sacrifice of the lives of men slain or pressed to death.* In addition to the weight of the law, there were ascetic exercises of religion, prescribed by the lawyers, concerning adoption, the hours of prayer, con-

worship, Ant. 18, 2, 2. B. J. 6. 5. 3. Siege by Herod, 14, 16, 2. Pompey, 14, 4, 3. Archelaus, 17, 9, 3. Pilate, Luke xiii. 1.

* Sabbath, 13, 8, 4. 14, 4, 2. 15, 1, 2. Comp. 12, 1, 1. 6, 2. 13, 1, 3. Sabbath-year, 14, 16, 2. Feasts, Bell. Jud. 2, 14, 3 6, 9, 3. Ant. 18, 2, 2. 19, 1. The 12,000,000 in Lightf. hor. hebr. 653. For, notwithstanding the paria renum of each lamb, there is only renem unum. Ten persons the minimum. Jos. B. J. 6. 9, 3. Lightf. Sacrifices of men. Comp. the 3000 under Archelaus, B. J. 2, 6, 2 20,000 under Cumanus, Ant. 20, 5, 3. By suffocation, comp. pascha compressum Lightf. 653.

stant frequenting of the temple, washings, fasts, almsgiving, divorce, the Nazarite vows, either temporary or permanent, which were taken by hundreds: and again, stress was laid on good works, which purify men, on revelations of God and heavenly rewards.* We have already noticed Agrippa's admiration of the sacred purity of the people of Jerusalem.† With a strength of will which can only be estimated by comparing it with the degenerate characters of Greece and Rome, the Jew would far rather die than violate the law by word or letter: even the Hellenized and Alexandrine Jews under Caligula preferred to die by the cross and fire, and the prisoners of Palestine died in the amphitheatre, by the claws of African lions, rather than sin against the law. What Greek, exclaims Josephus, would do the like? he would have allowed its whole literature to perish, since he only saw in it human invention.‡ Add to this the burning zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles to the law of Moses: the proselytes filled Asia Minor and Syria, even, to the indignation of Tacitus, Italy and Rome, where mothers made vows to the Jewish Jupiter, and pharisaic fasts on Thursdays and lustrations in the Tiber came into use. Ananias, a Jewish merchant, converted the royal family of Adiabene in the time of the Emperor Claudius; first the women, and then the prince, and he was so politic in his zeal, that on this account he dissuaded the prince from circumcision, until that also was effected by Eleazar, a Galilean lawyer.§

* Comp. inf. the Pharisees, and generally Hilgenfeld, Apokalyptik, 153. The beginnings, after the exile, increased *καθαρότης*, see the last prophets, Daniel, the Apocrypha, Philo, the Essenes. In N. T. Luke ii. 36. Nazarite, comp. B. J. 2, 15, 1. Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 23. Grätz, 3, 466. Jost. I. 239. Winer, R. W. 2, 164.

† *ἁγιστεία*. Phil. 1033.

‡ C. Apion. 1, 8. Comp. the hecatombs of Titus from among the Jewish prisoners, B. J. 7, 2, 1. 3, 1, 5, 1, &c. Also Phil. in Flacc. leg. ad Caj.

§ Comp. together with Matt. xxiii. 15 and Rom. x. 2, Hor. sat. 1, 4, 143: ac veluti te Judæi cogemus in hanc concedere turbam. Sat. 1, 9, 70: sum paullo infirmior, unus multorum. Tac. hist. 5, 5, transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, &c. The deceivers in Rome under Tiberius. Jos. Ant. 18, 3. Washing and fasting in Rome, Hor. sat. 1, 3, 288: comp. Nauck on the pass. Numerous proselytes in Asia Minor, Syria and Rome, s. Jos. B. J. 2, 20, 2. c. Ap. 2, 39. Philo, in

Hence came watchful mistrust of all that threatened desecration of the sanctuary, and the self command of a heroic temper which was prepared for death, against every attempt of insolent heathenism: and this was accompanied by gratitude for every sign of Roman toleration, as it was shown by Pompey, Cæsar, Octavianus, and Agrippa.* We have given instances in Herod's reign. Let us add some others in the time immediately following. When Pilate at the very beginning of his procuratorship (cir. A.D. 26) wished to break down the national peculiarities, and contrary to the example of his predecessors, provided the troops, on their march from Samaria into winter quarters in Jerusalem with Roman ensigns, together with silver images of the Emperor, the people revolted on the very first morning against the heathen symbols, which had been prudently introduced during the night. They went in crowds to Cæsarea, to request of the governor that the banners might be withdrawn. They remained in the market place day and night for five whole days, and would not be expelled as long as he refused to set this grievance before the Emperor: and when on the sixth day he stood on his tribune in the great racecourse, and caused his troops to surround the Jews, and at a sign from him, to press upon them with drawn swords in a triple column, they unanimously threw themselves on the earth, exposing their necks to the stroke, and desiring to die, rather than to transgress the law. Then Pilate himself was full of amazement at their "boundless piety," and ordered the images to be brought to Cæsarea.† A little later Pilate, like a true Roman,

Flacc. 971, leg. ad Caj. 1022. Also N. T. Dio. C. 60, 6. Foreigners at the feasts, B. J. 6, 9, 3. Conversions of royal family in Adiabene, Jos. Ant. 20, 2, 3.

* Pompey had entered the Holy of Holies, had seen without laying hands on the temple treasure (about 2000 talents) and had prescribed the continuance of sacrifice, and the purification of the temple after his reception. Comp. Jos. Ant. 11, 8. (Alexander): 14, 4, 4 (Pompey): Suet. Cæs. 84. (Complaints of the Jews after the death of Cæsar): Agrippa, p. 180. Comp. Phil. leg. 1021: *ὑνσυνασχετήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς οὕτως ἀφανίζεσθαι.*

† B. J. 2, 9, 2—3. (*τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄκρατον*). Ant. 18. 3. 1. B. J. shows the origin of the Procurator. The religious significance of these images even among the Gentiles, Jost. I, 333.

believed that it was a laudable act to bring an aqueduct, ten or even twenty miles long into Jerusalem, and to pay for the work, which was both necessary and in accordance with the wants of the times, with the treasure which was lying idle in the Temple, and for which pure water might be supposed to be important. But Judaism was opposed to such improvements at this time as well as later, when, out of mistrust of the Romans, they disposed of the Temple treasure in building works, and they demanded that the departments should be kept separate, and that the works should be arrested, while crowds broke out in open abuse of the governor.* On this occasion indeed he was successful, since he caused his soldiers to cut them down with malignant cruelty, but later again, towards the close of his misrule (between A.D. 32-34) the nation which had become submissive was able to get the mastery in a matter which seemed an innocent gratification of his personal pleasure. He caused gilded shields, not banners, to be hung up in Herod's royal palace, on which there were no images of victory but a flattering inscription of dedication to Tiberius. It became known to the people, who, like Philo, believed in some ulterior object, and became uneasy: they implored the intercession of Herod's sons, and of the aristocracy, and when withstood by Pilate, they raised a clamour against him as "seditious," demanding to see the Emperor's letter and signature, and threatening an embassy. Pilate continued obstinate, although inwardly regretting his act, and Tiberius, to whom written complaints were sent, and who was less anxious that the "gods" should be cared for in Palestine than elsewhere,

* Jos. B. J. 2, 9, 4. (400 stadia) Ant. 18, 3, 2. (200 St.) 20, 9, 7. Jost. I. 333, with appeal to Plin. h. nat. 36, 65. Others, including Ewald (v. p. 36) think that they were brought from Bethlehem, which is too near. The superfluous temple funds of which the treasure consisted, was undoubtedly expended by the Jews themselves in aqueducts, walls and towers for Jerusalem (Schekal. 6. Grätz, 3, 124). But in any case they wished to dispose of it themselves, and to avert the dangerous and profound inroad into the treasure. How malignantly they could reproach see 2 Macc. 4, 41. B J. 2. 14, 6.

somewhat angrily ordered the removal of the shields, which quickly returned by the well-known road to Cæsarea, and there they adorned the temple of Augustus without protest.*

A few years afterwards, under Vitellius (A.D. 36-37) when the land together with its religion had triumphed with a momentary brilliancy, and the Governor himself had been present at the Passover which was held with joyful greeting of the new emperor Caligula, the persecutions against the people began in the summer A.D. 38, amid this Emperor's crazy deification of himself, which was fitly associated with a Gentile hatred of the Jews and of their showy king Agrippa, and this was especially the case in Alexandria, where the populace, with the connivance and even with the cooperation of the governor Avillius Flaccus placed images of the gods and of the Emperor in the Jewish synagogues.† Contrary to all expectation, indeed, the displeasure of the Emperor, which was not even appeased by the persecution of the Jews, ended these attempts of the governor, who was suddenly thrown into prison; but the enmity continued, and in the beginning of the year 39, when it was still winter, two embassies set out for Italy, Philo the leader of the Jews, and Apion of the Alexandrines, and the Jewish legation had not only to endure all the insolence of the Emperor, but while following the dictates of his caprice in journeying from place to place in Campania, they heard with a cry of anguish the terrible tidings of the Emperor's intention to place his colossal image in the Holy of Holies in the temple

* Phil. leg. ad Caj. 1033. Clupei see Mommsen, 103. This circumstance certainly occurred towards the close of the numerous misdeeds of Pilate which have been enumerated, after the death of Sejanus (A.D. 31) and after the Samarit. revolt (35). Phil. leg. 1015. Grätz, 3, 489. confounds the quite distinct accounts of the images and the shields. The gods, Tac. ann. 1, 73. Deorum injurias Diis curæ.

† Vitellius, p. 202. Self-deification, s. Suet. Cal. 22. 24. 33. 52. Dio Cass. 59, 11. 26-30. Aur. V. epit. 3. Jos. Ant. 19, 1, 1—3. Relation to the Jews. Phil. in. Flacc. 965. The beginning in Alexandria was not the first, as might be supposed from p. 966, but the 2nd year of Calig. (Jos. Ant. 18, 6, 11.) and indeed at midsummer (July) of the y. 38, so that the persecution was at its height (Phil. 977) on Caligula's birthday (31 Aug. Suet. Cal. 8.)

of Jerusalem, with an inscription assuming him to be "Zeus made manifest, the new Zeus, Caius," as a fitting proof of his gratitude, because Jerusalem was the first town in the East which had under Vitellius, hailed with hecatombs the Emperor's exaltation to the throne.* In addition to the instigations of the Alexandrines and of the Imperial Court, the wrath of the Emperor had been inflamed by the demolition by a Jewish mob of an altar, meanly built of bricks, which had been erected in the Emperor's honour in the Philistine town of Jamnia (Jabneh was inherited from Salome as the private property of the Imperial family), and this was officiously reported in Rome by the Imperial treasurer Capito, in hopes of obtaining forgiveness for various frauds.† Publius Petronius, the governor of Syria, and successor to Vitellius (since A.D. 38), was instructed to march to Jerusalem with half of the troops stationed on the borders, beside the Euphrates, in order to erect the image, and in the event of opposition, the insurgents were to be slain and the rest of the people sold into slavery.‡ With a heavy heart, since he was a servant of the Emperor, but also acquainted with the Jewish people, and with the force of an insurrection which might extend from Babylon to Rome, Petronius, in the autumn of 39, marched to Ptolemais with two legions and numerous auxiliaries: he engaged Phœnician artizans, pitched his camp in Sidon and informed the Emperor that the Jewish campaign would begin in the spring, A.D. 40. Yet he wished to

* Release at f. of tabernacles, p. 982. The embassy (Jos. 18, 8 ,1) in the winter of 39. Phil. leg. ad. Caj. 1019. Report upon it, 1017. Comp. above p. 205. Rem. The (latter) inscription, p. 1040. The celebration of Caligula's accession in Jerusalem, p. 1025. Grätz, 3, 364, does not put the embassy before the summer of 40.! Ewald, p. 6, 310. 39-40, quite without reason according to the foregoing.

† Jos. Ant. 18, 8, 1. Phil. leg. ad Caj. 1020. Ewald, 6, 298, inaccurately: an image.

‡ Phil. p. 1022. Jos. 18, 8, 2. According to Philo's earlier and more faithful report, Petronius had already been for a longer time in Syria; according to Josephus he was sent from Italy for this express object. If we prefer Philo therefore, Petronius did not (as Gerlach says, p. 63) first come 39-40, but in any case in 38. The year 40 (although advocated also by Ewald, 6, 209) is not to be thought of. Grätz is in passionate agreement with Philo, p. 487.

prepare for it, and in the autumn of 39, he summoned the most distinguished Jews before him, both priests and leaders, and counselled submission.* But the times of capitulation with heathenism in the days of Antiochus were over in Israel and even in Herod's house.† A death-like stillness followed the governor's words, then weeping aloud, the rending of hair and beard, and finally the cry that it were better to die. The tidings had scarcely reached Jerusalem, at the time of the feast of tabernacles, A.D. 39, when innumerable crowds assembled, men, women, children and Phœnicians, literally covering the ground, and they besought him in dust and ashes, with loud outcry for the law, the temple, all that was holy, imploring delay. Not merely the gentle and cultivated Petronius, but the sternest Romans amongst his assessors, who were in favour of war by nature, and by their dread of the Emperor, were moved, and decided to postpone the matter once more.‡

At the time of the spring-sowing, in January or February 40, Petronius, accompanied by his friends and counsellors, travelled from Ptolemais to Tiberias on the sea of Gennesareth, the nearest Jewish city of importance, which had been the residence of Antipas and now of Agrippa, in order to observe the disposition of the people more closely.§ Fully aware that it was a decisive moment, thousands again flocked together. "Will you, dare you wage war with the Emperor?" "We are willing to die," they cried, throwing themselves on the ground and proffering their necks. In this manner they besieged him for forty days:

* Jos. B. J. 2, 10. Ant. 18, 8. 2. Phil. 1022—1024. According to B. J. § 1, 3. Legions, § 3, images already in Ptolemais.

† Phil. p. 4024. That the first negotiation with the Jews occurred in the autumn of 39 (Ewald, 6, 299, and Grätz, 269, put it in 40) and not in the spring of 40, is not only evident from the clear indication of autumn, B. J. 2, 10, 1. Ant. 18, 8, 2, and on account of the many negotiations which followed, occurring in early spring, but also on account of the Jewish reminiscence, that the first intelligence came at the feast of tabernacles. Megill. Taanit. c. 11. Grätz, 269.

‡ Phil. p. 1024. Jos. 18, 8, 2.

§ Jos. § 3. Jos. himself indicates a pause. Philo the spring. Ewald, 303, is himself right, and it results in placing the whole in the late autumn.

in their case for the honour of God, they took no thought for the sowing, for which it was now full time. To the people was now added the aristocracy, Aristobulus at their head, the brother of King Agrippa, who had again gone to Rome: they begged him to write of the state of things to the Emperor. He again summoned the Jews to Tiberias: he alarmed them by inclosing them with his forces, but he gave way, and promised to write to Caligula, and he proposed to occupy the country peaceably.* The nation had by their tenacity conquered iron Rome, as well as the legions which returned to Antioch, and in a rain fall which brought with it unexpected plenty, they read the witness of God to Petronius and to their own piety. The dispute about images, in which Judaism obtained unexpected sympathy from all the liberal and reasonable men in Rome, and also commendation in the Annals of Tacitus, still had its vicissitudes. Petronius directed the artizans not to hurry themselves, and in March or April he wrote very guardedly to Caligula of his anxiety about the harvest which was then impending, having also in view the Emperor's approaching journey to the east.‡ The Emperor suppressed his anger, and it was not until the summer A.D. 40 that he demanded greater haste, and afterwards, on King Agrippa's personal and forcible intercession, desisted from the dedication of the image, although out of Jerusalem, worship of the Emperor was prescribed to everyone.§ But there was no attempt at such worship, and he reverted to his former intention, and directed that the statue should be

* § 4—6.

† Jos. § 6. Drought, *τὸ πᾶν ἔτος* also points to the spring, reckoned from the harvest month Tisri (rosch haschanah).

‡ S. Phil. p. 1027: *ἐν ἀκμῇ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἶναι.*

§ Phil. p. 1028—1038. Jos., 18, 8. 7. Greater haste prescribed in beginning of summer, Phil. 1029, (the harvest may have been over). Agrippa in autumn: C. first came A.D. 31, Aug. A.D. 40. Suet. A.D. 49. Philo and Joseph. do not wholly agree in this. Philo gives a different account of Agrippa's intercession from that of Josephus, who knows of a petition from a guest. The sequel of the letters is different in the two. Philo's is earlier and more sober. The amplification is on the other hand easy to insert.

made in Rome, that it should accompany him on his journey to Alexandria, and be secretly placed in the Temple, threatening Petronius as a corrupt ruler with instant judgment.* It then appeared as if a voice had gone forth from the Holy of Holies to him as to a new Antiochus; he died January 24, A.D. 41, beneath the sword of Chærea, and the news of the Emperor's death was received by Petronius in February before the letter withdrawing his favour, so that he was in the eyes of the nation, visibly protected by God.†

With all the weight of legal obligation, the state of morality was very corrupt. Such a noble nation could at no time be without high-minded and blameless men, and not only Philo and his brother were such, and the father of Josephus, not to speak of himself, is described by him as a pattern of Jewish righteousness, but the Gospels also know at the outset of righteous and blameless men, and the mouth of Jesus speaks at one time of righteous men, who, persecuted of men, need no repentance before God, at another of the pure in heart, the merciful, the compassionate, the peacemakers, and then again of the modest, the mourners, those who hunger after righteousness, of the poor in spirit, who, in the prevailing bodily and spiritual necessities of Israel, wait for redemption.‡ But it is precisely the persecuted righteous, and the suffering patriots who give the age its character as a time of disaster. It was not merely foreign oppression nor its evil influence which interfered with morality: it was the external obligations of the law itself which promoted decay. The law was brought to bear upon the disposition, but also, and with far greater force upon actions,

* Phil. p. 1038—1040. Jos. 18, 8, 8. Suet. Calig. 49.

† Jos. 18, 8, 9. Suet. 49, 58. Also Tac. hist. 5, 9. (inexact): dein jussi a C. Cæsare, effigiem ejus in templo locare, arma potius sumsere: quem motum mors Cæsaris diremit. The voice in Herzfeld, 2,377. The plenipotentiary of Calig. was already at Antipatris, that is, the middle station between Cæsarea and Jerusalem, (Acts xxiii. 31) when the news of Caligula's death arrived. The threatening letter from the Emperor in December or January, according to B. J. 2, 10, 5.

‡ Jos. Vit. 2. Comp. the self-righteousness in the Apocrypha: ἐπλήσθην δικαιοσύνης. Ps. Solom. 1. 2, 3. Comp. 9.9. From the N. T. Luke i. 6. ii. 25. Matt. v. 3. ix. 13. xviii. 13.

and a school of doctrine which had lost the spirit of the prophets, upheld and praised the righteousness of outward acts, which is presented to us as fair and ennobling in the Sibylline descriptions of the ways of holy men, such as were unknown to the world, but which in many sayings and writings of that time are often repulsive: such are the apocryphal writings, including the Psalms of Solomon, the Jubilees, and the fourth Book of Esdras. It is very characteristic of the national spirit that the insurrections and bloodshed always took place at the great feasts. When the insurgents, led by the teachers of the law, had after Herod's death, destroyed a whole Roman cohort, they quietly returned to the paschal sacrifice.* In like manner the temple sacrifice was continued to the last at Jerusalem, while the sects were in bloody conflict, with every kind of atrocity up to the very altar. There are many proofs of the depravity of the people, with all their redeeming qualities. All the heathen, from the Greeks to Seneca and Tacitus, as the Apostle Paul also knew, reproach the revolting profligacy of the nation. The holy deceit in Rome under Tiberius is an instance. (B.C. 19.) The Pharisees reviled the people, the vagrant Essenes justified unfaithfulness in marriage, without being contradicted by Hillel and the Pharisees. The Apostle Paul boasts on the one hand of the people's zeal for the ordinances of God, and on the other he finds that they are only less depraved, impure, unjust and sinful than the Gentiles, and he tells his countrymen that God is dishonoured by adultery, theft and sacrilege.† The history of Jesus tells of many kinds of disease, of frightful manifestations of insanity, in which is shown the accumulated result of blind superstition, of moral depravity and of the national and social dissolution. The

* Sibyll. 151. Ant. iii. 17, 9, 3.

† Apollon. Mol. ap. Jos. c. Apion. 2, 14, 12. 20: *ἀφυέστατοι βαρβάρων*. Senec. ap. August. civ. D. 6, 11: sceleratissima gens. Tac. hist. 5. 8: teterrima gens, 5. 5: projectissima ad libidinem gens. Deceit of the lawyers in Rome, p. 199. of the Pharisees, Joh. vii. 49: *ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ἐπικατάρατοί εἰσι*. Essenes, Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 1. Hillel see pirke ab. 2, 7, 1. 5. Paul, Rom. ii. 17, ix. 3.

crimes of murder, of refined cruelty, of promise-breaking and immorality, which are presented to us in the Jewish war (A.D. 70), and of which the roots may be traced in the so-called Zealots up to the time of the youth of Jesus, were only forced into blossom by the misery of their outward condition, and the national historian himself, while agreeing with Philo in the express assertion of the rare transgressions of the law, declares that the nation had become so evil and depraved that the Holy City must have been consumed by an earthquake, or destroyed by a flood, or struck by the lightnings of Sodom, unless the Romans had executed judgment upon it.*

THIRD SECTION.

The Hope of the Messiah.

Amid these enormous contradictions between the ideal and the actual, between their destiny as the people of God, which was filled with a glowing zeal for his honour, and their condition of slavery and dissension, and indeed of physical and moral wretchedness, the marvellous nation was ever at work at the sacred and ennobling task of shaping out a better and an ideal future, which was usually included in the term, the times of the Messiah.† The departed age of prosperity served as the original model, times of distress wove in their tragic threads, and those of greater suffering gave greater urgency to the question how to make the transition from the ideal to the actual; indeed, the eye was so greatly strained to see that

* B. Jud. 5, 13, 6. Also 5, 10, 5. 7, 8, 1. On the other hand C. Apion, 2. 18. The apologetic assertion: *καὶ σπάνιος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων. ἀδύνατος δ' ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις.* Phil. leg. 1022, in Flacc. 972. The later school of Zelots with all its off-shoots. Joseph. dates from Judas the Galilean. Ant. 18, 1, 1.

† Comp. the book by *Colani*: Jesus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps. 2. Edit. 1864. *Knobel*, Prophetismus der Hebräer, 1837. *Ewald*, die Propheten des A. B. Edit. 1840. 41. *Hitzig*, kl. Propheten. 3. Edit. 1863. Daniel, 1850. Jerem. 2nd Edit. 1866. *Dillman*, Buch Henoch, 1853. *Hilgenfeld*, Jüdische Apokalyptik, 1857. *Volkmar*, Prophet Ezra, 1863. *Oehler*, Messias (Herzog) 1858. *Herzfeld*, 3, 311. *Biedermann* die Propheten, A.B. 1860. 1860. *Langen*.

which was perceived by the glowing heart, and all which the mind had grasped that was noble and sublime, that the outward circumstances of common earthly life became almost intolerable. Prophecy, the most glorious part of the Old Testament literature, is intimately connected with this which is the fairest fruit of the national spirit of Israel. It is necessary that we should refrain from unrolling in this place the splendid pictures in which Israel relates her suffering and her love, becoming purified and of keener insight in her wrestling with herself and her God, when the thought of Zion, as of a kingdom of righteousness and holiness diffusing itself over the world, is clothed in words. We are hardly able to follow the general development of these anticipations in the coarsest outline, reserving our detail of the particular features for the life of Him who was to perfect the ideal world in fact.

In the separation of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah (B.C. 975) the destruction of Israel and the decay of Judah under David's posterity, the hope still survived from the ninth century downwards, from the time of the prophets Amos and Hosea, and with greater confidence in Isaiah and Micah in the eighth century, that God would raise up once more "the fallen tabernacles of David," that he would plant a branch upon Sion from the stem of Jesse which had been cut down, and from the broken top of the high cedar, that out of Bethlehem of David, king of Israel, there should arise, adorned with the name of God, and even with the mysterious name of eternity, the gatherer and deliverer of the peoples, the Prince of the world's Peace, the bringer-in of knowledge and righteousness.*

Even at the beginning of the Asiatic captivity (B.C. 588), which put an end to all hope, Jeremiah and Ezekiel still clung to the belief that the salvation of the people was drawing nigh in the seed of David, the righteous Branch.† The long exile, the weakness of the colony which returned to the land of their

* Amos ix. 11. Hosea iii. 5. Isaiah ix. 6. xi. 1. Mic. iv. 1. v. 1.

† Jerem. xxiii. 5. xxxiii. 14. Ezek. xxxiv. 23. xxxvii. 24.

inheritance under the Persian king Cyrus, and the decadence of the family of David which was only partially revived in Zerubbabel, weakened the belief in the royal house, yet not in a future for Israel. Under the Persian king Darius (B.C. 520-518), Zechariah loudly complains: Lord of Hosts, how long wilt Thou have no compassion on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, with which Thou hast now been wroth for forty years? And he proclaims Joshua the high-priest, and Zerubbabel of the House of David as the two sons of oil, anointed and crowned, which stand before the ruler of the world, the type and pledge of the priesthood and the kingdom which shall be perfected in the coming "branch" of David.* Somewhat later, indeed (cir. B.C. 450) after experiencing the rule of Persian satraps and the defilement of priests and people, a belief in David's house is lost in the last prophet, Malachi; but the Lord himself will come, to declare judgment, to inhabit his Temple, to establish his covenant and his kingdom, and his forerunner is the prophet promised by Moses (Deut. xviii. 15), the heavenly Elijah, unequalled in power, establishing peace, making Israel ready for their great King.†

After a long and dreary pause the spirits of the nation revived with the war of religious freedom against Syria. In the earliest dawn of this time (cir. B.C. 167) the book of the prophet Daniel, without exalting any single person, proclaimed the kingdom of the Holy God from heaven, the kingdom of the pious nation which was by God's grace to overcome the kingdoms of the world, even those which were as iron: half a century later, the earliest book of Enoch (cir. B.C. 110) shows in the person of the Asmonean John Hyrcanus, "the great horn," the conqueror ordained of God to lead the flock of young

* i. 12, iii. 1. iv. 11. Comp. Hitzig. 12 kl. Proph. 3 Ed. 1863. p. 326.

† Comp. i. 6, 8, 8, 14. iii. 1. iv. 5. Hitzig, p. 395. He puts the date between 433—358. The desired angel of the covenant in iii. i, is mysterious: indeed malach Jahve, the manifested God (comp. Oehler, 416) Hitzig: messenger of purification (Borit) = Elia. But the two ἄγγελοι appear as separate persons.

horned lambs, and beyond him again a greater future, when the Messiah, the white and great-horned bull shall be born, and the flock, assembling around the new temple of God in might and knowledge, shall be transformed into his patriarchal greatness.* The nation rested for a while in this new prosperity under the Asmoneans. Simon, the Asmonean, since freedom dated from his first year (B.C. 143) was proudly named in all records the High Priest, and prince and leader of the Jews, and was to be ever so called, until the prophet foretold by Moses, should arise: the present time seemed now to border so closely on the ideal, that the house of David was not needed, and they might at any rate expect the prophet who was to restore religion, if such a one was needed in the ever-advancing apotheosis of the outward law.† Under John Hyrcanus the necessity was still unfelt: Josephus calls him the happiest of men, whose success silences every murmur against fate: for he alone possessed the three greatest things; dominion over the people, and the offices of high-priest and of prophet: he was even encompassed by Divinity, so that the future was unveiled to him.‡

* Dan. ii. 31. vii. 13. Ewald, 4, 394. Hitzig, Comm. zu Dan. has a perfect right to identify the *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* with the *ἅγιοι ὑψίστου*: Daniel himself has throughout so interpreted, ib. Comp. the similar representation in the ascension of Moses ed Ceriari, Monum. 5, 1861, 59: Israel in the heavens, placed below the stars, his foes at his feet. But it is quite intelligible that the interpretation (comp. Enoch) early accepted the personification as a person, especially since Daniel (ix. 25) elsewhere speaks of an anointed (Maschiach). Yet comp. Oehler, Buch Henoch (transl. and expl. by A. Dillmann, 1853) c. 90. Also the comment. of Dillmann. Moreover Dillmann's view, and that of Hilgenfeld (Apok. p. 93) and of Oehler (Art. Messias in Herzog, 9, 427) as to the antiquity of the book, and particularly of this clause is established, whilst I, with Hilgenfeld and Oehler, consider that the chaps. 37-71 (containing the idea of the Son of Man, &c.) are later and have been christianized.

† 1 Macc. xiii. 42. iv. 46. xiv. 41. *ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν.* The passage, ii. 57, not a proof of expectations of the family of David. The saying of the Macc. *θεοῦ βοήθεια, νίκη.* 2 Macc. viii. 23. xiii. 15. Comp. the interesting notice in Pseudophil. breviar. (Herzfeld, 1, 379): mox secuti Asmonæi simul cum pontificatu etiam ducatum a domo David subripuerunt. Therefore, as late as the Asmoneans, the house of David, in the persons of Joseph and of Hyrcanus, took high position, which it lost by the favour with which its leaders regarded the Greeks and by the Asmoneans.

‡ B. J. 1, 2, 8.

His death, however, destroyed the hopeful vision of happiness, and Rome and Herod drew nigh after the weaklings of the Asmonean house. When the heroes have fallen, and the might of the community has disappeared, the ancient ideal of David revives afresh. David's name had never completely vanished, neither had his posterity. The book of Sirach was written in Palestine about the year B.C. 180 or 170, before the Asmonean struggle, but it was not until the year B.C. 130 that it was translated into Greek in Egypt, as we now have it. This book of bald morality betrays weak, vacillating and unstable opinions; but in reaching after all the anchors of hope, after Abraham and the patriarchs, after the Elijah of Malachi and the High Priest of Zechariah, in whom he discovers Simon the righteous (B.C. 220), it significantly names David also, whose horn God has exalted for ever, and to whom a root still remains.* Somewhere about the same time, under Ptolemy Physkon (cir. B.C. 140), the so-called Jewish sibyl arose in Egypt, and the man who should come from the seed of David is proclaimed in the third and most important of the Sibylline books:

> But it is a royal race whose posterity
> Shall never fail, and in the course of time
> It shall rule and begin to build the temple anew.†

Through the whole of the third book, down to the times of Antony and Octavianus, the holy and eternal kingdom of the future is contemplated, and this is connected without a gap with the so-called psalter of Solomon at the beginning of the Roman and Idumean epoch under King Herod: this psalter, which first became known in modern times (A.D. 1615), was originally

* Sirach, 41, 21. 47, 11 (13) 22 (25). 48, 10. 50, 1. Yet comp. Oehler, Art. Messiah. (9, 423). Also 47, 22 is not unimportant. The date of Simon of Ger. I place with Herzfeld, 2, 377, and Jost (1857) 1, 110, under Antiochus the Great.

† The Sybillin. Weissag. vollständig gesammelt von Friedlieb, 1852. p. 3, 286. 3, 46. 652. Comp. Hilgenfeld, p. 64. 81. I maintain with him in 3, 286, in opposition to the general opinion, (including Oehler, p. 129) that the reference to Cyrus and Zerubbabel is insufficient Comp. also Volkmar, Ezra, p. 396.

written in Hebrew and composed in Palestine, with the ardent supplication to God: "Look down, O Lord, and arouse for them their King, a son of David, in the time which Thou hast appointed, that he may rule over Thy servant Israel!"*

Solomon's psalter is in immediate connection with the times of Jesus. The suffering inflicted by the joint rule of the Romans and Idumeans gathered in ever increasing clouds around the nation, which believed that the times of the Assyrian captivity would return again. No book was studied more intently than the prophet Daniel, as setting forth a hope for the future. It contained less of vengeance than of promise, and defined the future with exactness which was justified by the fulfilment of some of its predictions, since the things which the author had actually experienced were veiled in soothsaying, so that he became the proud expression of the national faith, and the index of the expectation which was feverishly excited by the demoniacal tyranny of earthly rulers. The book of Daniel, repeatedly mentioned in the Gospels and by Jesus himself, was the divine utterance on which the nation relied in their last desperate conflict with Rome; it spoke very clearly of the four earthly kingdoms, the fourth as strong as iron, with great iron teeth and claws, consuming and treading down everything, and at last suddenly trodden down of the kingdom of the holy ones from Heaven:—what was this in the light of the present than the iron universal empire of the Romans, following that

* Psalterium Salomonis in Fabricius Cod. pseudepigr. V. T. i., 914. Comp. 17, 5, 23. Ewald (in his Gesch. d. Volks Isr. 3d Ed. 4, 392) with whom Dillmann (Art. Pseud-epigraphen A. T. Herzog, 12, 305, also Oehler, p. 426) suppose the date of Antiochus Epiphanes: Movers Kath. Kirchenlex. 1, 340, Delitzsch, Comm. Psalmen, D. 1860, and recently Langen, Judenth. in Pal. 1866, 64, are more justified in assigning that of Roman times (comp. only 2, 1, 8, 18. 17, 14: ἕως ἐπὶ δυσμῶν: also description of the Sadducees, 4. 1), whence again the two former justly go down to Herod's time, while Langen thinks of Pompey's days. Pompey indeed is indicated, but evidently also the tyrant who opposed the Sanhedrim (8, 18). Grätz (as elsewhere, comp. Philo) has gradually accepted a Christian author, which is hardly possible from 17, 33-51. 18, 6-10 is possible (Langen), but it is generally simple want of consideration.

of the Macedonians and the Greeks, and itself trodden down by the kingdom of heaven?* In fact, the times of Jesus are full of an uneasy expectation of the salvation which was to come. A slender fragment of the irreligious Jews might apply their ideal to Herod, who had asserted himself to be the bringer of happiness to Israel.† Others might cling with a convulsive hope to the last remnant of the Asmonean house, to Hyrcanus, to the young and fair high priest Aristobulus, to the false Alexander, who pretended to be the murdered son of Mariamne, still living, and whom all the foreign Jews as far as Rome acknowledged, until he was disowned by the Emperor Augustus as an impostor: or finally to King Agrippa I, the grandson who became the new king of the Jews in Caligula's time, and whom Jerusalem and Alexandria, amid the ill-feeling of the foreigners, hailed with joyful amazement as their star of hope. Others again, "in the frenzy of despair," might find the saviours of Israel in the military leaders who, immediately after the king's death overspread Judea and Galilee, advancing after the manner of pilgrims, partly in imitation of the great adventurer, partly trading on the expectation of a Messiah, or else they flocked to the banner of Judas the Galilean, who began in the name of God to indicate the freedom of his people, the forerunner of all the advocates of freedom, prophets and false Messiahs which arose against Rome, from Tiberius to Nero and Hadrian. Together with these, the scribes and Pharisees who had been fellow learners with the Galilean, with prudent foresight, but also with suppressed fatalism, diffused the doctrine that the divine rule was not restricted to a Messiah, and was compatible with a distant governor of Roman Syria.‡ The

* Dan. chaps. ii. vii. Favourite book, Ant. 10, 11, 7. Its importance in Jewish war, B. J. 6, 54.

† Tertull. praescr, 45: Herodiani, qui *Christum Herodum* esse dixerunt. Comp. above, p. 174.

‡ Details were given in the hist. review above. As to the false Alexanders, Ant. 17, 12. Agrippa Phil. in Flacc. 969. Jos. Ant. 18, 6, 11. 8, 2. Acts xii. 22. For Pharis. see below the hist. of Pharisees.

unhappy nation wrestled feverishly for its salvation in a hundred ways, seeking to accomplish or to bring nearer the time which they knew to have been promised, and it was only when all the efforts of human arms had miscarried, that they recovered self-possession, since they knew, as said Philo to Caligula, that the God of Israel was stronger than men.* Thus it becomes clear, that the cry of Messiah, the Christ, of the kingdom of the great King, the kingdom of Heaven, the throne and seed of David, all these old sayings of the prophets, continued in the later books of Daniel, Enoch, the Sybilline books, the psalms of Solomon, and also in the Targumim, formulated and sown broad-cast among the people, were on every man's lips in the days of John the Baptist and of Jesus, in Judea, in Galilee and even in Samaria; on the one hand in the people's mouth and in that of the Pharisees, as the son of David who should be their political king and leader, on the other, in the mouth of John, of Jesus and of his disciples, as a spiritual Saviour.† For the cry was uttered in every necessity, and it was proclaimed by each man as he was able to understand it.

It is altogether contrary to history to believe that a faith in the Messiah in general, and in his connection with David's house, had died out in the time of Jesus. The Gospels alone

* Phil. leg. ad Caj. 1020. Comp. the watchword of the Maccabees, p. 242.

† Comp. Maschiach, Meschicha (Anointed, Messiah, Christ) Ps. ii. 2, Dan. ix. 25. Solom. Ps. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8. (perhaps Christian). Targum, Gen. xlix. 10, Lev. xxiv. 17. Often in Jonathan, e.g. Isa. ix. 6, Langen, p. 419. Oehler, p. 434. Kingdom of heaven from Dan. ii. 7, (So also Lightfoot, Bertholdt, De Wette) in Jonathan's Targum (malchut Jahve) Mic. iv. 6. Isaiah xl. 9. liii. 10, Comp. Lightf. on Matt. iii. 3. De Wette bibl. Dogm. 3d. Edit. p. 176. Sybyll. 3, 47: *βασιλεία μεγίστη ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι φανείται.* 766: *καὶ τότε δ' ἐξεγερεῖ βασιλήϊον εἰς αἰῶνας πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρωποῦς.* Psalm Sol. 17, 4: *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* Comp. Judas of Galilee. The king and general in some degree in Philo and in the Revelation, and especially in the account of the Jewish hope of the Messiah in Philos., 9, 30: *βασιλεὺς, ἀνὴρ πολεμιστὴς καὶ δυνατὸς*, who fell in the war, which there ended. Yet he is also high-priest. Further details when we speak of John (where also the Samaritans) and of Jesus.

will serve to confute this opinion, which appears (among Jews and Christians) to be the result of assuming Jesus to be an enthusiast full of fantastic hopes, and this is rejected with contempt by Hillel, a true reformer, and a moderate and cultivated man. We should rather consider that the belief in the Messiah carried with it the ancient ideal of all which was great and holy, as well as of the living, burning, moving aspirations of the people. The Hellenistic and Alexandrine enlightenment is a speaking proof that this belief had taken a firm hold of the age. This enlightenment had on the one hand melted down the ideal of a historical Messiah into the abstract metaphysical ideas of angels, of powers, and of the Logos. The Septuagint version had already so interpreted many prophetic passages, and Philo had referred Zechariah's prophecy concerning the branch of David to the Logos.* Yet notwithstanding this taste for subtleties, the Sybilline books, which spring from the same soil, have from the first maintained the Messiah, and the Seventy have occasionally, even by a variation from the Hebrew text, spoken of the man of healing which was to come, of a vision of the salvation of God, and the Targumists, imbued with Alexandrine ideas, have in the principal passages of the Old Testament inserted the name of the Messiah, of the king and teacher, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the coming days of consolation.† In Philo himself there is still a remnant of the Messianic belief, notwithstanding all that he has done to diminish and to spiritualize it by the ready means of his idea of the Logos. If Israel in their time of need admits, bewails and confesses her sins, those who are scattered even to the ends of the earth will in one day be set free as though by a word of

* Isaiah ix. 6. (70): *μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος*. Moreover Ps. ex. 3. (cix. 3). Zech. vi. 12. by Philo d. conf. ling. interpreted of the Logos. Comp. Langen, p. 396. 400. Oehler, 426.

† Lev. xxiv. 7, 17 (*ἐξιλεύσεται, ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος*. Gen. xlix. 10: *οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐκ Ἰούδα*, &c. Isa. xxxviii. 11 (70) in Langen, p. 397. The Targumists with Meschicha, 1 Macc. xlix. 10. Lev. xxiv. 17. Jonathan, Isai. 9, 6. The same 2 Sam. xxiii. 3: day of consolation. Langen, p. 418. Oehler, p. 437.

deliverance, and their masters, amazed to see them turn as with one mind to goodness, will be ashamed to rule over those who are better than themselves. In united fervour, and led by a supernatural and god-like image, which is only visible to the redeemed, they will then assemble in the appointed place, rejoicing in three intercessors for their reconciliation with the Father, the forgiving goodness of the Father Himself, the prayer of the patriarchs, and above all, the moral conversion of those who will then be truly sons. When that time comes, the destroyed cities will arise once more, the deserts will be inhabited, the barren will become fruitful. By their sudden conversion and amid the streams of divine favour, posterity will become incomparably richer and more fortunate than their fathers and forefathers. The national happiness will no longer provoke envy, the enemy will no longer dare to wage war against the leader which was promised by the oracles, and indeed the people will rule without opposition, and to the happiness of their subjects: strength, reverence and beneficence, parents of fear, shame and benevolence, will become the pillars of their dominion.* Nor must we forget Josephus, who was both a rationalist and an adherent of the Roman party. He admits the Messianic hopes of his people, and indeed of many of their learned men at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, with more or less frankness, only he refers the ancient "oracles" of a universal ruler, who should come out of Israel, to Rome and to Vespasian, who ascended the Imperial throne from the ruins of Jerusalem: this is indeed subversive of the text, but he deals with facts after the modern fashion, in a sense which is conservative of its life and well-being. He was indeed bold enough to declare his prophetic

* D. praem. 924 d. execrat. 936 f: *ξεναγούμενοι πρὸς τινὸς θειοτέρας ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄψεως.* p. 925: *ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος, φησὶν ὁ χρησμὸς. καὶ στραταρχῶν καὶ πολεμῶν.* He undoubtedly thinks of the supernatural appearance only in the manner of divine images through clouds: of a divine Schechina. Comp. also Oehler and Langen. He has scarcely made use of Daniel or Ezekiel. Ewald, iv. 252.

power to the Roman general in the name of God.* Yet he secretly retained his Jewish faith. When explaining the oracles of Balaam, he appears to leave nothing as the enduring kernel of the prediction except the everlasting possession of the land by the Jews, no longer oppressed by Rome, but the chosen people of God, as well as the glorious diffusion of Judaism throughout the world (the "Star" of the prediction.) But this is not enough: he adds that they will also live in the fulness of peace and happiness, and that in war they will obtain victory and power, even against those who have been wont to return victorious.† In this and other places he refers to the Romans; for at that time Rome was indeed successful, and God, who grants dominion to the nations in turn, was then on the side of Italy; but the unerring prophet Daniel had prophesied a coming salvation, going beyond their destruction by the Romans with a message of felicity to the people, in opposition to others who have been messengers of woe, and he has thus secured the perpetual sympathy of the people beyond all other men. And although he has not openly interpreted the rocky stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which came down from the mountain and shattered the image, which symbolized the universal monarchies of the east and west, and which then became gigantic and filled the whole earth, but takes refuge in the base subterfuge that he was the historian of the past, and that the book of Daniel was at the disposal of every reader, yet in his heart it is applied to Israel, if not precisely to the Messiah, as it is applied by Jesus.‡

It is not intended to go into the later expectations of the Messiah, including the Ascent of Moses, and the fourth book of Esdras, of which the composition, according to the most probable reckoning by Ewald, Gfrörer, Volkmar, &c., dates

* B. J. 6, 5, 4. 3, 8, 9. Also 2, 1. 4, 6, 3. Comp. Suet. Vesp. 5. Dio. C. hist. 66, 1.

† Ant. 4, 6, 5.

‡ B. J. 5, 9, 3. Ant. 10, 11, 7. 10, 10, 4. Comp. Matt. xxi. 44. Luke xx. 18.

from the reign of Titus, Domitian, or indeed Nerva (A.D. 96), and not, as Hilgenfeld and others suppose, from the time of Herod the Great. To its personal expectation of the Messiah from heaven there is added, as the history of Jesus will show, the influence of Christian teaching, however far its belief in the Messiah may be truly Jewish.* We can pursue the belief in the family of David through centuries, in the west and east, and as far as Babylon, where one of David's race, (as leader of the exile, Rosch Hagolah) is placed at the head of the Jews, and in like manner, as it appears, before the Asmoneans at Jerusalem.† But this is note-worthy: Israel's belief in a Messiah already began to spread through the world. At one time it might torment or gratify those who were in search of novelty, at another, by its promises of blessings to all the world, it silenced aspirations, which even Rome and the peaceful rule of the first Emperor had been unable to satisfy. The hope of a dawning golden age after the storms of civil war was very consistent with the Jewish expectation of the future. The poets of the Augustan age, amongst whom we should specially mention Horace as well as Virgil, are full of such views. In Virgil's fourth eclogue it has been found from ancient times down to Langen, and especially since Virgil adduces the sibyl, that he made use of the Jewish sibyls, and of the expectation of a son born of a virgin. This would now indeed be absurd, but that Virgil had something in common with the Jewish descriptions of a golden future is at least possible.‡ Then again, the east has a sur-

* Comp. especially Volkmar, Handb. der Einl. in die Apokryphen, 2 Abt. 4th book Ezra, 1863. Hilgenfeld, Jüd. Apokal. 1857, p. 187. Die Propheten Ezra und Daniel, 1860. The ascension of Moses in any case dates after the destr. of Jerusalem. Comp. Langen, p. 110.

† Comp. Philos. 9. 30. p. 246. Rabbis in Lightfoot, 257. Berthold, Christologia Jud. 1811. 75. Comp. Oehler. David's fam. in Babyl. see Herzfeld. i. 372. 2, 396. Comp. p. 242.

‡ Eclog. 4. 4 (to Pollio.) Ewald, and Friedlieb believe in a more or less immediate dependence on Judaism. But Langen, p. 173, seriously takes the virgin (v. 6: jam redit et virgo) as a reference to the birth from a virgin = Isaiah v. 14, and Sibyll. 3, 784 (*εὐφράνθητι κόρη*) Why not also 3. 75? Comp. already Eus. or. Const. ad

prising attraction for many of the Emperors. Caligula in the later years of his reign (A.D. 40) had a restless tendency to the east, and he made it his object and a point of honour to establish his personal worship at Jerusalem. Nero's "secret imaginations" had gone forth to the eastern provinces from the year A.D. 64. The soothsayers had foretold the loss of his throne, but many consoled him with the dominion of the east, and indeed with the kingdom of Jerusalem. This leads us to think involuntarily of his wife Sabina Poppea, (A.D. 62-65) who was an ardent Jewish proselyte, friendly to the people of Jerusalem, and also to Josephus, the mother of the "god-like child," and probably indeed concerned in promoting the frightful persecution of the Roman Christians in the year 64.* Immediately afterwards, at the time of the Jewish war, (A.D. 66-70) and especially in the year 70, the east was full of the prediction, which has also left its mark on our Gospels in the form of the adoring Magi, that the rulers of the world should arise out of Judea. Vespasian and Titus joyfully accepted the promise of their greatness at the hands of the God of the Jews, speaking through Josephus. The predictions that Nero should return from the east, taken in connection with the ideal ruler who was to overrun the world as far as Greece and Rome, coming from the east with terrible power, owed some of their force to the Jewish belief in the Messiah, and aided Christianity and Judaism to construct Antichrist out of the image of Caligula and Nero.† These facts can hardly be explained when

s. coet. 18-19. But Langen might be instructed by Heyne and recent writers as to the virgin = Dike.

* Ann. 15, 36. Suet. Nero, 40: sponderant quidam destituto Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum. Poppaea, Tac. ann. 13, 45. 14, 1, 59. 15, 23 (God-like daughter) 16, 6: quod divinæ infantis parens fuisset Jos. Vit. 3, Ant. 20, 8, 11: θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν (Comp. Tac. 16, 6.).

† Suet. Vesp. 4, pererebuerat Oriente totus vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Only one cannot believe with Gieseler K.G. i. 54, that Tacitus (hist. 5, 13) had Jos. B. J. 6, 5, 4, before him. For Vespasian comp. Joseph. above, also my art. Vespasian in Herzog. The Nero legend need not be discussed further here.

they are only taken from the books of Josephus or from the Revelation of John. These were speculations which the scattered people of God had grafted upon heathenism by the energy of their belief, and the steadfastness of their confession. The report of the Messiah preceded him in legendary form: then he appeared in person and he was already there.

FOURTH SECTION.

The Religious Communities in the Holy Land.

I.—*The Pharisees and Sadducees.*

The religious life of the people, of which we have taken a brief view, was divided into a series of characteristic and individual forms. Thousands of the higher classes, and also of the citizens and peasants belonged to distinct religious societies. The spirit of the people developed its abundant self-contemplation in an active personal life, which was at once manifold and sharply defined, and which issued in its popular form by means of numerous schools and hundreds of synagogues, in order that out of this bewildering and overflowing multiplicity, the higher and substantial unity might be collected. So that the religious communities formed one flower and fruit, and again one root and stem of the collected spiritual life. They were altogether a new thing in Israel, of which the religious impulses had never taken this form in earlier days. They were therefore a proof that there were crying needs and gnawing cares in this spiritual life, and even that there was a great breach with the things of old, after which they sought with an unsatisfied longing, and this was at the same time the very reverse of the despairing poverty and helpless need of salvation which a one-sided mode of regarding religion, and an unreal view of history has imputed to these times of transition, in defiance of the plain and express contradiction of contemporary history. The keen sorrow of the time was in truth a sign of life, and the spirited and wide-spreading efforts of the people refute

their assumed exhaustion, and are a sign that their wealth was still unsquandered.*

The religious societies of later Judaism are often called sects. By this word the term used by the Jewish historian, who applied the titles of the schools of Greek philosophy to Jewish circumstances, is translated, not indeed quite inaccurately, but it is substantially false. These "heresies" are, like the Greek, not sects, but parties, without any secondary intention of separating from the community, which Pharisaism directly condemned.† The word heresy, in the sense of a sect, can scarcely be used even for the Jewish party of the Essenes, which especially assumed the character of exclusiveness. On the other hand, the Pharisees and Sadducees were fully within the popular community, and were indeed its spiritual leaders.‡

1.—The Pharisees.

Among these parties Pharisaism appears as the first in time and significance, and also as the one which exercised the greatest influence. Indeed its relation to the popular life became so predominant, that it appears to disclaim the name of party as much too narrow a definition. It appealed to the people, although even in the time of Jesus it was represented by an exclusive society of 6000 men, and the masses of the people listened to this appeal, before which the Asmonean princes, and even Herod and the Romans might tremble. The second party, that of the Sadducees, can only be fully understood, as Josephus has frequently pointed out, by the opposition which was provoked by the force displayed by Pharisaism, and this was intensified into a party by its opposition to these restraints, into such a party, indeed, as

* Comp. the remarkable passage, Phil. leg. ad Caj. 1023, partly given above.

† Jos. Ap. 2. 23.

‡ Together with the expression *αἱρέσεις* Josephus also has that of the *τάγματα*, *συντάγματα* (unions), B. J. 1, 5. 2. 2. 1, 14. *μόριον*, 17, 2, 4. Detailed conferences in Jos. B. J. 2, 8. Ant. 13, 5. 9. 13, 10, 5, 6. 17, 2, 4. 18, 1, 2. Also (after Joseph.) Philos. 9, 18-29. Porph. d. abst. 4, 11. Of modern writers, see Ewald, 4, 358, Grätz, Geiger, Herzfeld, Reuss, Biedermann, Phar. u. d. Sadd. 1854. Kleinert: Jesus im Verhältness zu den Parteien seiner Zeit, 1865, is nearly valueless.

ventured to make use of scoffing as an overwhelming power against restraints which were of little avail in these times of excitement.

The Pharisees, as well as their opponents, are first mentioned under Jonathan, the second Asmonean (B.C. 161—143). Joses ben Joezer, and Joses ben Jochanan, the first distinct leaders of the party, flourished about this time. Their sympathy with the efforts made for the nation and for religion made them followers and patrons of the Asmoneans. Hence came their great influence under John Hyrcanus, the last distinguished Asmonean (B.C. 135-107). Their growing arrogance, which claimed to limit the prince's powers over the people, and to depose the high-priest, whose mother had been defiled by her captivity in Syria, drove the prince, not without the revolt of Jerusalem which took part with the Pharisees, into the camp of the Sadducees, who were in authority until the death of Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 105-79). But when he was dying, the king recommended his widow Alexandra, who was already submissive to the party, and to its leader Simon ben Schetah, to show favour to the Pharisees, who were all-powerful with the people. Everything, including even the proscription of their enemies, was permitted to them by Alexandra, and still more by her weak-minded son Hyrcanus. It was by Simon ben Schetah that the Sadducees were expelled from the Sanhedrim. Their arrogance led to a new revolution, to the conflict of the brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, to the entry of the Romans, and to the rule of the Idumeans. But murmuring, intractable, and finally victorious, they outlasted the long tyranny of Herod. In his reign they numbered more than 6000 men. When his kingdom was overthrown, they obtained indeed only bondage to the Romans, but also the complete possession of all the forces by which the nation could be spiritually influenced, the pledge of their final deliverance by God, or under false guidance, of their fall.*

* The earliest party according to its date, πρώτην ἐπάγοντες αἵρεσιν, B. J. 2,

If these outward circumstances lead us to regard Pharisaism as before all things a political party, yet we should rather remember that on such a soil only religious motives exercised any deep influence. In fact the name of the party has a religious significance. The Pharisees (Peruschim, Aramaic, Perischin) are the Separatists, the holy, the pure. The name has somewhat the same sense as that of the Nazarenes. This name carries us further back in the Jewish history than Josephus: for in the first beginnings of the community on their return from exile, and again at the beginning of the Greek era, we find the separatists (Nibdalim) and the pure, in opposition to the lax, and to those of mingled race who are friendly to the Gentiles. These purists are necessarily the most exact in their observance of the law of their fathers: they are in the same close relation to it as the strict and wise teachers of the law, the Sopherim, Chachamim, of whom Ezra was the first, as well as the "Pious" observers of the law, the Chasidim of the Syrian time, who took the sword in the name of God, against those who would falsify his religion. The Pharisees are a new version of the name, but not of the thing, as soon as we place it on an organized basis of historical consideration: they are the national party, revering the law, and opposed to the Gentiles. That the name was invented by their opponents, the Sadducees, (as Herzfeld suggests) is, according to the foregoing remarks, improbable.*

8. 14. (Sadd. ib.: *τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα*). First-mentioned. Ant. 13, 5. 9. The two Joses in Jost. 1857, p. 199. John Hyrcan. Ant. 13. 10. 6. Alex. Jannæus, 13, 15, 5. B. J. 1, 5. 2. Hyrcan. and Aristob. 13, 16, 1-5. Number, Ant. 17, 2, 1. Simon ben Schetach in Herzfeld, 3, 367. The Pharisees immediately concerned in the destruction, B. J. 2, 17, 3. 6, 5, 4.

* Clem. Hom. 11, 28: *οἵ εἰσιν ἀφωρισμένοι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ὡς γραμματεῖς τῶν ἄλλων πλεῖον εἰδότες*. Tertull. præscr. 45: Pharisæos, qui additamenta quædam legis adstruendo a Judaeis *divisi* sunt, unde etiam hoc accipere nomen digni fuerunt. Epiph. haer. 1, 16, 1: *ἀφωρισμένοι* (*φάρες κατὰ τὴν ἑβραΐδα*. So Suidas. The Nibdalim, *χωρισθέντες τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας τῶν ἐθνῶν*. Ezra vi. 21, ix. 1, x. 11. Neh. ix. 2, x. 29, 1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13, 2 Macc. xiv. 6. The Pharisees themselves so called. = *ὅσιοι*, Ant. 19, 7, 4. Also the word Nasir. (from nasar, to separate, to abstain) among the Rabb. = Perusch. comp. Herzfeld, p. 140, 205. Oehler, Art. Nasiraat. The origin of Pharisaism is similarly described by Reuss, Jost, and Geiger. Ewald dwells far too much on their being "Religionists with a greed for

This party, speaking generally, included the necessities and conclusions of Judaism when it returned as a colony to the ruins of Jerusalem. The God of Israel, the Mighty and the Just, whom Moses and the prophets, who had given light to the nation, had only after much labour brought the sensual people to acknowledge, had been seen and apprehended in His awful majesty by even the blindest eye in the infinite misery of exile. In the bitter earnest of facts He and His holy and despised ordinances had become flesh and blood to the people. The appeal to the law sounded afresh. The book of the law must be once more learned. It must be learned by them more thoroughly than by their forefathers, since mountains of doctrine were connected with every point in the book of the great God. They must hasten to erect the holy precepts and customs upon the holy ground. And since every single precept was of eternal value, and the eye was, after its long privation, straining after the visible presence of the priestly kingdom of God in the wasted land, what could be more natural than that piety should impetuously gush out in the building of the Temple, the worship of sacrifice, and the thousand toilsome labours of the hands, above which the prophets had long before set in vain the offering to God of a pure heart and life. By means of this hard service of the law (Mal. iii. 14) they hoped to become once more the people of God: the harder the service, the more the Divine heart would be moved to raise Israel his servant to the glory which had been promised.

The work of bringing the law again into effect had first been undertaken by Ezra the Scribe (Sopher) immediately after the exile: he was restorer of the Torah which had been forgotten by Israel, and he was aided, according to tradition, by the so-called great assembly (keneset gedolah), which adopted the cry, Make a hedge about the law!* The words of the scribe,

rule," 4, 478, 413, 493, &c. hence the dissatisfaction with which the Jewish historian regards him. But Grätz, 3, 72, is also wrong.

* Pirke Abot, I. 1: isti (viri synagogæ magnæ) dixerunt tres sententiæ: estote tardi in judicio. Et constituite discipulos multos. *Et facite sepem legi.*

the learned in the law (dibre sopherim) had great authority. In this manner the class of lawyers who were learned in the the Scripture took its rise. Its leaders, "the worthy disciples of Ezra," who restored its ancient glory to the "crown," the law, were considered greater than kings, the great ones of the age (gedole hador) as Schemajah and Abtalion were called. They were exalted above the priests, since they only could declare the man is pure, and the priest must declare that he is so. Once, as it is said, on the great day of atonement, when the people were accompanying the priest home in triumph, the great teachers Schemajah and Abtalion ventured to meet the procession, and the whole crowd turned aside to them. It was easy for them to lead the attack even against high-priests and kings. Of this there is sufficient proof in the history of Herod, and Simon the scribe met his grandson Agrippa the Great, who had a numerous escort, with a boldness which exceeded the arrogance of the Pharisee Eleazar against John Hyrcanus: Simon harangued the people of the holy city after Agrippa's departure, forbidding the King's access to the Temple because he was a Gentile, friendly to foreign customs and to the theatre.* After the Syrian epoch the scribes were for the most part Pharisees, although Sadducees and men of neutral opinions sometimes bore the name. They were esteemed to be the most accurate expounders of the law, and of all questions of divinity, of sacrifice and of vows. Their watchword was wisdom in the law, justice, piety, and holiness according to the law. Hundreds of young men, zealous for the law, sat at the feet of their most eminent teachers; indeed they were heard willingly by all who aimed at virtue, and they themselves called every man, since they promised holiness, the kingdom and the priesthood as the heritage of all, and they would have it known that the sacrifice

* Ant. 13, 10, 5. 17, 2, 4. 19, 7, 4. Agrippa's confutation of Simon in the theatre is interesting: τὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γενομένων ἐστὶ παρανόμων. The proof of previous notices in Jost, Grätz, Herzfeld. The high-priests and the school-presidents in Jost, I. 250.

was offered in the name of all, even in the people's name: they were religious democrats in the sense in which the great Hillel spoke: Separate not thyself from the community!*

They promised that God would reward obedience to the law, and comforted those who in their vindication of the law were worsted in this life with the recompense of life eternal, and with everlasting resurrection in pure bodies, while the immortality of the wicked should end in eternal punishment.† An infinite and genuinely Hebrew belief in the boundless dispensations of God, and indeed in a divine fate, from which they only in some degree excepted man's power to choose between good and evil, kept them from despair at the continuance of national disaster, and even alleviated their servitude to strangers, since it did not occur without God's will, and secured to them the hope of being for ever under his dominion, of which they enjoyed a foretaste in the people's dependence on themselves.‡ Josephus had compared them with the Stoics, and in many things there was a similarity, but, not to speak of much else, the heroism of the Stoics had not gone further than to their paling before the world and fate, while the Pharisee more steadfastly believed in his God, and the triumph of his cause in the world.§

* Ant. 17, 2, 4: *μόριον ἐπ' ἀκριβώσει μέγα φρονοῦν τοῦ πατρίου νόμου*, B. J. 2, 8, 14: *οἱ δοκοῦντες μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νομιμα.* 13, 10, 6: *τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατασταθέντα νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ.* 18, 1, 3: *ὁπόσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσι πρασσόμενα.* B. J. 1, 33, 2: *στρατόπεδον τῶν ἡβώντων.* comp. Ant. 17, 6, 2—*δικαιοσύνη, τὰ δίκαια*, B. J. 2, 8, 14. Ant. 13, 10, 5. 16, 1. Comp. in N. T. *δικαιοσύνη ἐν νόμῳ* in Paul, who had been previously a Pharisee. Universal priesthood, 2 Macc. ii. 17: *ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σώσας τὸν πάντα λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὴν κληρονομίαν πᾶσι καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ τὸ ἱεράτευμα καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν.* Geiger remarks, p. 26, the Pharisaic spirit of the book. Comp. Ant. 18, 1, 3. Hillel, Pirk. Ab. II. 4. ne segreges te ab ecclesia.

† B. J. 2, 8, 14. 3, 8, 5. Ant. 18, 1, 3. Comp. the Essenes, and later with greater detail in the teaching of Jesus.

‡ The divine *εἱμαρμένη*, B. J. 2, 8, 13, 14. Ant. 13, 5, 9. 18, 1, 3. According to 18, 1, 3, they consider human action to be the *κρᾶσις* of human freewill and of divine almighty power. Comp. their fatalism in connection with Herod the Great.

§ Jos. Vita, 2.

The success of Pharisaism was made more easy by their remarkable organization. Their interpretation of the law was not dissipated in untrustworthy and isolated opinions. Pharisaism was powerfully organized. In choosing a Rab (Rabbi) you gain a Chaber (a companion), as Joshua ben Perachiah exclaims at the close of his offices.* An express order of subordination, as well as reverence and love, governed the relations of scholars to their masters, of the younger generation to the old, to the teachers and to the wise. This accounts for the fact that, in the important question as to the lawfulness of slaying the passover lamb on the Sabbath, Hillel could not prevail by all the subtlety of logical proof, until he declared: I heard that it was after this manner from Schemajah and Abtalion: and then he was appointed president by the assembly.† They went back to their great leaders, to Hillel and Schammai in Herod's time, to Schemajah and Abtalion in that of the high-priest Hyrcanus, to Simon ben Schetah and Juda ben Tabbai in the time of Alexander Jannæus, to Joshua ben Perachiah and Nithai of Arbela in Galilee in the days of John Hyrcanus, and further back again to the second and third centuries before Christ, to the two Joses (B.C. 150), to Antigonus of Socho in Judah (B.C. 200) and to his teacher Simon the righteous, the contemporary of Antiochus the Great (B.C. 220), the founder of the great synagogue, and in this manner, by means of their school discipline, and in spite of dissensions in particular instances, such as those between Hillel and Schammai, that unanimity was fostered which Josephus so distinctly ascribes to the party, as well as the authority and reverence due to the ancient "tradition" which claimed to be the authentic successor of Moses and the prophets, even if the broad stream of their knowledge had far exceeded the limits of

* Pirke Abot, I. 6: fac ut habeas præceptorem et compara tibi socium.

† Jost, 1857, p. 156. Concerning the origin of the name of Rabbi (comp. Matt. xxiii. 7) s. Jost, p. 270.

the Mosaic letter.* Their enthusiastic scholars repeatedly boasted, that the words of their wise men and of the scribes were more to be esteemed than the words of the prophets, that they were indeed more dear and precious than the written law, which was as the man in comparison to the woman, and the oil to the light. "In the words of the law there were things important and unimportant, but all the words of the scribes are of importance." "Therefore, my son, be more anxious about the teaching of the Sopherim, than about that of the law." "Let your fear of the Rabbi be like the fear of God." "He who transgresses the word of the Sopherim has forfeited his life."†

The Pharisaic exposition of the law had the predominant characteristics of a servile and laborious restoration. The prophets, who were the faithful interpreters of Moses, vanished into the background, even although their writings, as well as the law, were publicly read, while their sepulchres were adorned with lately erected monuments, and the hopes of a Messiah and the belief in a future world were borrowed from them. It was the enormous delusion of the day that the full beams of mercy could be wrung from the God who stood still to punish, by the sensuousness of the Mosaic worship which was pleasing to the eye, although the prophets had formerly threatened them with divine vengeance for its lack of meaning. Moses, and always Moses was in the mouth of these scribes, and it followed from this, that the pearl of the law itself, the moral and humane spirit which according to Philo's juster

* B. J. 2, 8, 14, φιλάλληλοι, Ant. 18, 1, 3. (ὁμόνοια.) Νόμιμα πολλὰ τινὰ παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ φ. ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωσέως νόμοις, comp. Matt. xv. 2, v. 21, Gal. i. 14. Philosoph. ix. 28: τὴν ἀρχαίαν παράδοσιν διακρατοῦντες. The ἀρχαῖοι and πρεσβύτεροι (Matt.) = sekenim (Rabb.). Connection of tradition, Pirk. Ab. I. 1: Moses accepit legem ex monte Sinai, et tradidit eam Jehoschuae, et J. senioribus et s. prophetis, proph. vero tradiderunt eam viris synagogae magnae.

† Comp. the Rabbis in *Leusden* (1865) and *Lehmann*, Pirke Abot. 1684 : also in Lightfoot, 260, Gfrörer, Grätz, Jost, 3, 121. Most recently Jost, Gesch. Judenth. 1, 93. (1857). On this is based the open abrogation of the Mosaic ordinances.

estimate was embodied in the grosser worship of sacrifice, and of which the spiritual prophets had celebrated the triumphant resurrection, was broken and trodden down.

Scattered sayings which are forcible, humane and of good grain are not wanting in the great teachers of the law, although they are for the most part without spirituality or depth, only attaining the mediocrity of a Jesus son of Sirach, and there is throughout a complete want of fresh ideas, or of a comprehensive and liberal culture after Philo's manner. Just as in Josephus, the disciple of the Pharisees, we find in these teachers that platitudes and mechanical theories lie close beside their nobler ethical and humane conceptions.* Pirke Abot offers the fairest collection, in the sayings of the elders, which in later days were often read in the synagogues. The appeal to the law necessarily takes the first place. Where there is much flesh, said Hillel, there are many worms: with great riches there is great care: with many women, many sorceries: with many maidens many sins: with many servants, much theft: with much law there is much life: with many schools, there is much wisdom. Whoever has possessed himself of the words of the law possesses also the life which is coming on the world. Whoever does not increase in learning, diminishes; he who learns nothing is worthy of death, and whoever pursues the law in a base and mercenary spirit must die.† Truly the law is the teacher of wisdom, says Joses ben Joezer: let thine house serve as an assembly of the wise: sprinkle thyself with the dust of their feet and thirstily drink in their sayings.‡ Yet Schemajah again utters a warning against too high an estimate of the Rabbis: love the work, and hate the nature of the Rabbis! and Simon the Just demands practical piety: the world rests upon three things, upon the law, upon religion, and upon the exercise of compassion.§ As

* Many noble ideas in Josephus, especially in his controversy with Apion. Comp. e. g. 2, 23.

† Pirk. Ab. II. 7, I. 13, IV. 5. ‡ I. 4. § I. 2. Schemaiah in Jost, p. 251.

the sum of the law, Hillel admonishes a Gentile: Do nothing to thy neighbour which is hateful to thyself: an interpretation of the law which was at that time so current that it is given both by Jesus and by Philo.*

Hillel sets forth Aaron as a pattern: be one of the disciples of Aaron, who sought peace, who loved men and brought them to the law.† Evil desires against our neighbour are especially forbidden: an evil eye, an evil lust, and the hatred of their fellow-creatures, bring men to destruction.‡ On the other hand, as Hillel exclaims, where there is much righteousness there is much peace! Let thine house stand open in the streets, and let the poor be the children of thine house (Joses ben Jochanan): speak little, do much, and receive all men with a friendly countenance (Schammai).§ Righteousness and justice in judgment are prescribed with especial emphasis, in opposition to the Sadducees. Judge every man according to the scales of justice (Joshua ben Perachiah): judge not thy neighbour until thou standest in his place (Hillel). When thou art judge, do not oppose other judges as a partizan: so long as the parties stand before thee, consider them both as transgressors: when they are dismissed, consider them as justified (Juda ben Tabbai).‖ The love of enemies is more rarely prescribed with reference to the oppressors, with whom they are warned not to associate, but it appears in the manner characteristic of the Jews, in a resignation which restricts vengeance to the name of God. Count thyself among the oppressed, and not with the oppressors, is a favourite and beautiful Rabbinical saying: listen to reviling words, and answer not again; do all from

* "This is the whole law; all else is interpretation." Grätz, p. 226, and Jost (1857), p. 259, who is justified in disputing the originality of this current saying of Hillel's. Comp. Tobit, iv. 16: ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς. Eus. praep. ev. 8, 7, 6: ἃ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν (Philo). Matt. vii. 12, xxii. 37, Gal. v. 14. Ewald, 4, 270.

† Pirk. 1, 12.

‡ Joshua, disciple of Jochanan, the disc. of Hillel, ib. II. 11.

§ II. 7, I. 15.

‖ Joshua, Pirk. Ab. I. 6. Hillel, II. 4. Comp. Jost, p. 233, 241.

the love of God, and rejoice in suffering. But must we add the commentary of Samuel the Little? "Rejoice not when thine enemy falls, and when he stumbles let not thy heart be merry, lest God see it and it should be evil in his eye, so that he will turn his wrath away from him."*

One merit of these sayings consists in the frequent warning against pride, self righteousness and confidence. The belief in a retribution, which was the stronghold of the Hebrew popular spirit, and the fundamental doctrine of Pharisaism, is announced in soothing or stern words, and awakens hope and anxiety. With what measure man metes, it will be measured to him again. In whatever pot he has cooked for others, will they cook for him again. The mild and gentle Hillel addressed a human skull into which water floated; because thou hast drowned others, thou thyself art drowned, and those who have drowned thee will finally float with thee.† Practical righteousness was encouraged by this retribution. Whoever possesses himself of the law becomes possessed of eternal life. (Hillel.) Know in whose sight thou labourest, and consider that he is the master of thy work, who will recompense thee for that which is done. (Eliezer.)‡ On the other hand Hillel gives this warning: he who seeks to make his name great, his name will decline: be not confident in thyself until the day of thy death, and say not, when I have time I will learn: it may be that thou wilt never have time. If I take no care for myself, who then will care? And if I only care for myself, what am I? And if not now, when? His disciple Jochanan said: If thou hast learned much, pride not thyself upon it, for to that end wast thou created.§ Antigonus of Socho (cir. B.C. 200) had

* Samuel, Pirk. Ab. IV. 19. The earlier passage, Schabb. 886, and elsewhere in Grätz, p. 226. Comp. the saying of Schemaiah: Associate not thyself with temporal dominion. Jost, p. 251.

† Pirk. Ab. II. 6. The other passages in Lehmann.

‡ II. 7, 14. Comp. 15, 16.

§ I. 13, II. 4, II. 8. 1, 14: si non ego mihi, quis mihi? et cum ego mihimet ipsi, quid ego? et si non nunc, quando? Meaning perverted by Geiger, das Judenth. u. s. Gesch. p. 104.

already opposed the greed for reward: Be not like to servants, who serve their masters on condition that they receive hire, but rather like those servants who serve not their masters for hire's sake, and let the fear of heaven be upon you.* So again, repentance, humility, and a cry for mercy is demanded: work out thy repentance a day before thy death. (Eliezer.) When thou prayest stiffen not thyself, but humbly implore the mercy of God, as it is said, For He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great goodness, and it repenteth him to punish (Joel ii. 13): and be not godless in thine own eyes. (Simon.) There is a beautiful saying towards the close of the maxims of the elders: the man in whom three things are found, a good eye, a humble spirit, and a lowly soul, is taught of Abraham our father.† In this theology we either do not find, or barely trace, and that chiefly under Christian influences, the consoling name of God our Father, and of men as his children, and the stress laid on the grace of humility: the inward spirit of Christianity is ever wanting in the stern Jewish awe which keeps at a distance from God; and it is a significant proof of this that the followers of Hillel and of Schammai disputed for years concerning the gloomy and almost heathen statement, whether it had been better for man not to have been created: indeed the assembly of lawyers finally decided in favour of this statement, with this deplorable addition: since he is however here, let him be careful in his actions.‡

But such maxims are laboriously gleaned out of a flood of

* I. 3. ne sitis tanquam servi, cui serviunt magistro ea conditione, ut recipiant mercedem: sed estote tanquam servi, qui serviunt magistro non ea conditione, ut recipiant mercedem, sitque timor Dei super vos.

† II. 10, 13. V. 19.

‡ Akiba, iii. 14: Dilectus est homo, quia creatus est ad imginem Dei. Dilecti sunt Israelitæ, ex eo quod vocati sunt *filii Dei*. Juda ben Tema, v. 20: esto fortis ad faciendum voluntatem *patris tui*, qui est in coelis. Even 4 Ezra has not made use of the Christian conception, since men are simply God's creatures (only Aeth. filii) vii. 65. Comp. together with Isa. lxiii. 16. lxiv. 8, the Book of Wisdom, Philo, p. 222. (Father throughout, only = the Creator) especially vol. ii.: Vaterbegriff Jesu. Der Schulstreit, Jost, p. 264.

unprofitable discussions concerning external ordinances. The law of the two tables was altogether without any worthy commentary. Out of it was constructed a system of law which was mainly external, as we see from the teaching of Jesus, and indeed from the foregoing pithy passages concerning the legal ordinances, and on this point Philo of Alexandria has far greater merit than the whole of Pharisaism. They do not treat of the mysterious question of the inner man, of conscience and sin, and the lust of sins; there are no protests against the trifling with oaths and asseverations, nor against the easy breach of marriage ties. The moral purpose was so completely buried beneath external practice, that an offering to the temple, as Jesus declared with scorn, served as a dispensation from the elementary commands of filial obedience. They were the truest forerunners of the morality of Catholic Christianity, against which Luther strove.* There was, moreover, the most solemn exactness in the discussion of trifling matters of ritual. Should the incense on the day of atonement be lighted before the Holy of holies, or not rather on the high-priest's entrance. This was so important that the Pharisees required the high-priest to take an oath of exact performance before the holy day. Should the offerings of God, which were added to the bloody sacrifice, belong to the priests, or not rather to the altar? Ought the sheaves for the offering of first-fruits on the second day of the Passover to be reaped on the Sabbath? Ought the slaying of the Passover lamb to break the Sabbath? Must the water at the feast of tabernacles be poured upon the altar, and ought the procession with branches of willow round the altar to be omitted? Was it necessary only to take tithe of corn and wine and oil, or not also of anise, cummin and peppercorns? Did it avail to swear by heaven and earth, by Jerusalem, and by a man's own soul, or not first by God? to swear by the temple, or not first by the gold of the temple? by the altar, or not first by the sacrifice on the altar? This mode of

* Matt. v. 20, xv. 3

treating the subject is the more displeasing, because there is seldom any apparent principle, or at least any that is important and moral, but only a vague, erring acuteness on the trivialities of petty casuistry.*

This piety was particularly scrupulous about the questions of purity and of impurity, which were first emphatically stated by the two Joses in sharp contrast to the impure Gentiles, who were to be avoided.† But they did not ask with the prophets for purity of heart. On the contrary: Did the flesh of a dead body defile, or also the hide and bones? Did the contact with the profane books of the Gentiles defile, and not still more those which were sacred? Did the water streaming from an unclean vessel defile that which was clean? Is the woman who has been delivered of a son or daughter clean or unclean after the first seven or fourteen days? It is a saying of the Talmud, that he who despises the washing of hands will be rooted out of the world. The Sadducees said jeeringly that the Pharisees would soon apply themselves to the purification of the sun.‡

Their thoughts and lives were made up of such trivialities. The chief exercise of religion consisted in sacrifice, vows and the three regular hours of prayer, which was accompanied by much ceremonial, and offered in the temple whenever it was possible, but also in the streets in cases of necessity; washings before the sacred worship, and even before the reading of the law; the washing of hands even before eating, on which Hillel and Schammai laid especial stress; the washing of the domestic utensils of wood, metal, and glass; the refraining from the bread, oil, and wine of the Gentiles; the voluntary fasts until the evening, particularly on Mondays and Thursdays; and the

* Comp. together with the Rabbi (especially the subjects in Jost, 1857, p. 217, in Herzfeld, 3, 388, Grätz and Geiger) the sayings of Jesus, especially Matt. v. xv. xxiii.

† Philosoph. 9, 28 : *τὰ κατὰ νόμον καθαρὰ καὶ μὴ καθαρὰ*. Jost, 1857, p. 199 The land of the Gentiles impure, the two Joses, Herzfeld, 3, 248.

‡ Herzfeld, 3, 386. Grätz. p. 79, 455. Geiger, p. 8. The maxim as to the washing of hands. Sot. 4. in Delitzsch, Jesus und Hillel, p. 23.

distribution of alms. Many of these actions were not enjoined by the law, such as the voluntary fasts, or only to a limited extent, such as the washing which was especially enjoined to the priests: they became fashionable after the exile, and the merit, as well as the theory and practice, was by general consent ascribed to the Pharisees.*

All these heavy burdens, an infinity of legal ordinances which were not only concerned about every moment of life, and destitute of higher morality, but involved a continual anxiety lest they should be transgressed, were imposed on themselves and on the people.† In special cases they may have defended the people's interests against the priests, since they, and especially Hillel, vindicated the principle that the passover sacrifice of the people was entitled to break the Sabbath, as well as the sacrifice of the priests. In special cases they might make the law less burdensome on the claims of daily life, since they set aside the remission of all debts in the year of Jubilee by a reservation which had not been intended by Moses; since they sanctioned certain transactions on the eve of the Sabbath, and even on the Sabbath itself; since they limited the time of the impurity of woman, and sanctioned manufactures from the hide and bones of dead animals; since they opposed the stern Sadducees in forbidding the literal execution of the law—an eye for an eye; and since they were in favour of the mildest interpretation in the cases brought for judgment.‡ But we should have to put all important facts out of sight if we ventured, with Geiger, to make use of these scattered instances to establish the general intention of Pharisaism as the reform of the law,

* Hilgenfeld has well combined the self-denials of the age succeeding the exile, Apokalypt. p. 253, Matt. vi. 1, Mark vii. 3-5. Luke xviii. 12. Comp. Art. Fasten, Gebet, Reinigungen, in Winer and Herzog. Washing of hands, lustrations by Hillel and Schammai, Herzfeld, 3, 238, 242. Abstinence from Gentile things (comp. Dan. i. 5) referred to the disciples of Hillel and Schammai, p. 239.

† Matt. xxiii. 4: *Δεσμεύουσιν δὲ φορτία βαρέα καὶ ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

‡ Comp. Jos. Ant. 13, 10, 6: *πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ἐπιεικῶς ἔχουσι.* The statement, an eye for an eye, Grätz, 459. The reserve of debts. Jost, p. 265.

its adaptation to daily life, and the emancipation of the struggling intelligence of the middle class from a narrow-minded hierarchy, so that indeed Christianity and the Reformation were only a revival of the Pharisaic principles. Pharisaism was neither a reformer nor an emancipator: it sharpened the rigid letter of the law, instead of relaxing it; it imposed burdens instead of removing them; it left the old hierarchy standing, and created a new one in addition to it, which, as we shall presently see, only buried the people in slavery, contempt and suffering.*

Pharisaism, in fact, attained its object very imperfectly. We may admit that it did not rest until Moses was again a power in the Holy Land; it brought the great thought of the people of God, and the great ideal of righteousness and holiness again into living action; it incited the nation to a zeal and emulation for the law, which might sometimes even put their teachers to shame.† The successful zeal in bringing proselytes to Judaism was especially concentrated in the Pharisees.‡ The mass of the people, however, and the women, who were remarkable for their enthusiasm, easily accustomed themselves to admire and adore the Pharisees as saints, in order to share their merits at little cost.§ And, moreover, they did not pass without criticism. The Pharisees, in general, were personally strict in conduct, and were distinguished in different degrees of purity and holiness: there is nothing effeminate about them, says the historian, and their opponents, the Sadducees, testify that they injure themselves in this life in order that they may with difficulty find a recompense in another.‖ There were venerable old masters and glowing youths, such as Saul, who consumed

* Geiger, Sadd. und Pharis., p. 25. † Comp. Matt. xxiii. 4, 15.

‡ Comp. Matt. xxiii. 15. Ant. 20, 2, 4.

§ *ὑπῆκτο ἡ γυναικωνῖτις*, Ant. 17, 2, 4. *δήμοις πιθανότατοι*, 18, 1, 3. 13, 10, 6: *τὸ πλέρος σύμμαχον*. Comp. sayings of Jesus. Matt. vi. 1, xxiii. 5.

‖ Ant. 18, 1, 3: *τὴν δίαιταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδόντες*. Call by means of *δίαιτα βίου καὶ λόγου*, ib. Degrees in Jost. 1857, 204. Testimony of opponents in Herzfeld, p. 385. Grätz, p. 76.

themselves in meditations on the law, in zeal for God, in wrestling for righteousness, but who could also take pleasure in the ecstasies of divine revelations.* Yet the school was distinguished, as King Jannæus says in his warning to Alexandra, into genuine and fictitious Pharisees, "the curse of Pharisaism;" and of the seven classes, only the sixth is commended for following the law out of the fear of God, and the seventh out of the love of God. Those women also who inclined to Pharisaism were counted among the curses of the country.† The obedience to the law which forgot moral principles, and expended itself in works, became a trafficker, which kept accounts with God, in which good works and sins served for the debtor and creditor account, and this naturally led to the hypocrisy of which John and Jesus sternly complain, and which was exaggerated at once by party spirit, and by the egotism and vanity of the individual, as well as by the admiration and self-sacrificing submission of the people. This led to the ostentation of turning away and closing the eyes in the presence of women, the stooping back, the sour countenance on fast-days, the mincing steps and pious convulsions, the prostrations with "good works upon the shoulder," with alms-giving at the corners of streets and in the synagogues, with long prayers and scourgings, and, together with all this, there was a greed for honour and power, for the money of widows, for banquetings abroad and at home, and, above all, there was the intolerable arrogance which paraded among others with the enquiry: what is wanting in me? and which, in remarkable contrast to the idea of their founder, declared the people, the despised peasantry, to be an abomination, vermin, unclean beasts, and doubly accursed on account of their ignorance and

* Comp. Jos. B. J. 3, 8, 3. Ap. 23, 9, and the Hist. of Paul. Hausrath, 1866, Paulus, exaggerates when he makes visions a characteristic of the Pharisees: Josephus has by no means asserted this, and the Charisma is partly ascribed to the old prophets (Ant. 10, 11, 7), partly to the Essenes, partly to the people, 15, 10, 5.

† Grätz, p. 76. Jannæus in Jost. 1857, 241. Women, in Herzfeld, p. 385.

impurity.* By its most strenuous efforts Pharisaism, the more it sought to become a power in the popular consciousness, did its utmost to promote the downfall of the people: as a builder of the kingdom of God, not unworthy in aim, but weak in capacity, it had guided the popular spirit into paths in which there was no promise of reformation, exalting a delusive life of self-deceit and arrogance, and finally, by renouncing the people, hastily renouncing the task it had undertaken without ever acquiring for itself any complete and satisfactory seed-corn in the future. For even the great thoughts from which it started were at best only bare names, the husks and shells which needed to be filled with substance.

It is, in conclusion, important to describe the views of the Pharisees concerning the coming kingdom of God more exactly. On this point, as it is admitted, there was the most strenuous conflict between the idea and reality, the most daring violence done to the existing material: how far was the agitation due to the Pharisees? We have already seen that the teachers of the law, with all their research into the most mysterious questions, were no mere theorists; patriotism was the point from which they started, the restoration of the Divine rule was their object, and such an aim was demanded by the law, and not merely by love of their country. That God alone should be ruler had been the cry of Judas of Galilee, and it was substantially the watch-word of the Pharisees. This was the consistent idea on which they acted: by this idea they estimated the situation of the times, and became in consequence feared for their criticism of every government.† The act of Judas of Galilee was only criticism of the Roman rule in an offensive form, while the more

* Grätz, Jost, p. 205. Herzfeld, p. 381, 385. And again the Gospels, especially Matt. xxiii. Luke xviii. 11, John vii. 49: ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος, &c., comp. to the haarez of Hillel, p. a. 1, 13: qui serviliter (4, 5: qui commodi causa) operam dat legi, transit. Arrogance: tell me what is still incumbent on me, wherein I have failed? in Herzfeld, p. 385. Comp. Matt. xix. 16.

† Comp. Jos. Ant. 17, 2, 4: *βασιλεῦσι ἐνιάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς κἀκ τοῦ προὔπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι.*

prudent majority of the party was content to criticize in word, sometimes reserving their judgment as to its being a fit time for open warfare, sometimes in a more religious spirit committing the office of bringing help to God: thus Hillel, in particular, was more averse to insurrection than Schammai, the opponent of the Gentiles and of Rome, who asserted that the sick and the sorrowful might not be relieved on the Sabbath, while he sanctioned battle with the enemy on that day, and was the teacher of that Zadok who was associated with Judas of Galilee.* Besides, the Galilean's revolt by no means claimed to bring in the times appointed of God for the Messiah: it was only resistance against a state of things which had become intolerable, and a purification of God's people from excessive defilement: at most the attempt at deliverance which had begun may have caused their dearest hopes to rise higher in the hearts of many, and may have awakened among the enthusiastic the fair dream of its immediate approach. The main point therefore is: did the Pharisees, in advocating the idea of a kingdom, expect the perfect kingdom of the Messiah, and expect it soon? There can be no serious doubt that the hope of such a kingdom and of a future world (haolam haba) existed, as we find it in the Gospels, as well as in Josephus, who relates that many wise men were misled by Daniel, at the time of the fall of Jerusalem, and also in the Rabbinical traditions, although the views of its nature diverge widely enough. The old teachers, Judas ben Tabbai and Simon ben Schetach, had waited for the "Comfort" of Israel, an expectation which meets us also on the threshold of the Gospels. A little later, we hear of the Son of David, and his forerunner Elias, which is mentioned as part of the Pharisaic teaching in the days of Jesus, and which

* Schammai, Grätz, p. 207. Jost, p. 267. Jost also believes that the Zealots issued from the Schammaites, p. 269, as well as the traditional disciple Zadok in Jos. Ant. 18, 1, 1, which is false.—Resignation even in the Rabbi Akiba, the spiritual leader of the Bar-Kochba insurrection, "that which comes from heaven is done for the best." Jost, 3, 207.

was transferred to the popular belief. The assertion that Hillel questioned or denied the coming of the Messiah, can be explained on closer research, since Hillel II., in the fourth century after Christ, and therefore at a time when hopes had long faded, referred the Messiah to the old and bygone days of the pious king Hezekiah.* The expectation of the approaching kingdom was due at once to the earnestness of the preparation, to the increasing misery of the Gentile era, and to the predictions of Daniel, which were so highly prized by the party: and it would be difficult to deny that, together with the later facts of the Jewish war and the protracted efforts of the Pharisees and Zealots, by which it was preceded, the history of Jesus favours this opinion, since it is full of utterances concerning the expectation of the Pharisees, which goes hand in hand with his own, but it is full also of the threat that they in their self-righteousness will fail to enter the kingdom.† It is at the same time easy to understand how, in the absence of any stringent religious principle, in the lack of pure inspiration, and in their slavish submission to a blind and divine fate, they failed to make use of the bold and direct words of the Baptist and of Jesus, in order, after long trial, to use them a generation later, when they were trodden down by Rome, under Florus instead of under Pilate, and their hope was at first uttered in the doubtful enquiry, When cometh the kingdom of God?‡ But however little certainty they produced in the popular mind, yet it was among them that their most important office of preparation lay: since they did not allow the most ideal of the thoughts of Israel to rest with the dead, since they raised it above the actual state of things, which they reformed or condemned, and since they placed this ideal in the mouth of the people and in the whole spiritual atmosphere of Israel, they laid the train of that

* Juda ben Tabbai, &c. in Herzfeld, 3, 332. comp. Luke ii. 25, 38. Expectation of the Pharisees in N. T. comp. Matt. xxii. 42, xvii. 10. Hillel, comp. Jost, (earlier treatise,) 3, 117. But also Grätz, 4, 386. Oehler, Art. Messias, p. 432.

† Comp. Matt. v. 20, xii. 25-28, xxi. 31, xxiii. 13. ‡ Luke xvii. 20.

match through the land, from which a greater conflagration might be enkindled.

Besides and after the party, we must speak of an individual. Justice demands, and indeed in more than one sense, that one man should be specially distinguished who ranks as one of the most worthy contemporaries, or at any rate as an immediate predecessor of Jesus, who embodied in himself all the nobility and gentleness of Pharisaism, who screened the weak points of the whole community as only one man could do, by his ideal, and also by his idealized character; but who also, as we must add, betrayed the weak points of the community in the personal and invincible debasement of his own noble nature. It must be evident, without going further, that we speak of Hillel, whom Renan has lately called the true teacher of Jesus, and Geiger the true reformer of his people. This at any rate is the fact, that Judaism early made use of him as a shield against Christianity, just as heathenism made use of Apollonius of Tyana.*

Hillel was a Babylonian Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, and although of the family of David, according to the genealogy found in Jerusalem, he came to Jerusalem in the time of Hyrcanus II. as a poor man, in order to study the law under Schemajah and Abtalion. While his brother Schabna earned money as a merchant, Hillel employed the half denarius, or franc which he earned as a day labourer, in part as his entrance fee in the school of the celebrated teacher, in part for the

* Rénan, Vie de Jésus, 1863, p. 35: Hillel fut le vrai maître de Jésus. Geiger, Judenth. u. seine Gesch. 1. Abth. 1865, p. 104. For Hillel, comp. Lensden, Pirke Abot, p. 11. Lightfoot, hor. hebr. p. 256. Jost, Gesch der Israel. 3, 111. Jost, 1857, p. 254. Grätz, 3, 172. Herzfeld, 3, 258. Geiger, Phar. und Sadd. p. 36. Geiger, das Judenthum, Delitzsch, Jesus und Hillel, (a historical parallel in opposition to Rénan, and Geiger), 1866. Hoffmann, Art. Hillel in Ersch and Gruber. The Parallel Apollon. of Tyana (Cappadocia), born under Augustus, originated in Nerva's time (comp. Philostrat. v. Apoll. 8, 27, 29), at its height in Nero's time (54). Comp. 1, 24, 40. 8, 6, 11. His exaltation by Philostratus at the beginning of the third century, when all the world was going over to Christianity. Comp. Baur, Ap. of Tyana and Christ. Tüb. Zeitschr. 1832.

support of his family. He could not always get work, and once when he was rejected by the school-servant, he climbed to the window of the house on a dark winter's evening before the Sabbath in order to see and hear, and in the morning he was found, and saved by Schemajah and Abtalion, when he was stiffened with cold and snow. "It is truly worth while to break the Sabbath on his account." Under King Herod, a hundred years before the destruction of Jerusalem, about the year B.C. 30, he became the chief master (Nassi) of the school, and even of the Sanhedrim, and this because he was the only person who, after Pharisaism had been crushed by Herod, was able to repeat the tradition of Schemajah and Abtalion in the fierce controversy about sacrificing the Passover on the Sabbath.* He must have retained this position for forty years, and died at the age of a hundred and twenty.† In troubled times he upheld a belief in the calling of Israel: if I (Israel) am here, all is here: if I fail, what remains? ‡ Schammai stands beside him as the second head of the school of Palestine: his more rigid observance of the law produced the conflicts between the "house of Hillel" and the "house of Schammai," which were endlessly protracted, and it taxed the acuteness of the Rabbis to reconcile these with school discipline.§ These very disputes, however, increased the fame of Hillel's gentle and yielding temper. He was celebrated as the successor of Ezra, who brought the law anew out of Babylon, as the Nassi of Israel; his form was not praised, but his wisdom, which was manifold as Solomon's, and the spirit of God was abiding on him. At his death he was lamented: Ah, the tender-hearted; ah, the pious one, the disciple of Ezra! His disciples, eighty in number, handed on his fame, especially Jochanan ben Zacchai

* 100 years before the destruction. Schabb. 15 a. in Jost, p. 260. Delitzsch, p. 8.

† 40 years, Grätz, p. 205. 120 y. Jost, p. 258. Delitzsch, p. 33.

‡ Grätz, p. 174.

§ Pirke Ab. 5, 17: omnis contentio, quæ est propter Deum, in finem usque durabit.—Quænam est contentio, quæ fit propter Deum? Illa est contentio Hillelis et Schammai (opp. Kor.h).

and Jonathan ben Usiel; thirty were worthy of the presence of God, and thirty that the sun should stand still for them; and the presidency of the school, and indeed the high priesthood itself, remained with his posterity for ten generations, amongst whom his grandson Gamaliel, the son of Simon, was again regarded as the ornament of the law in the apostolic age under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, but also as the end of the law, since all reverence for its teaching, purity, and continence was buried with him.*

Hillel's great significance in the development of doctrine consisted partly in his formal rules for the interpretation of the law, in which he opposed the gross worship of the letter by the Sadducees, and to a certain extent by the followers of Schammai; and he advocated a general view of the law as a whole, and a rational solution of its details, but it consisted still more in the revival of the moral, religious, and humane spirit of the law. † We have quoted the most important of his sayings in this sense. It is valuable to know that he inculcated as the very kernel of the law the saying concerning our duty to our neighbour to one who was disposed to become a proselyte, and who was harshly rejected by Schammai and two others, while the happy simplicity and the enlightening truths which were gently uttered by Hillel were able to convert the Gentile. Yet it must not be overlooked that Hillel himself, as a Pharisee, was throughout more ready to teach morality than religion. His moral precepts are, in spite of all warnings against assurance, and all admonitions to energetic efforts of the heart, a commendation of the outward service which leads to life, from almsgiving to purification, and even to the washing of hands.‡ His relaxations of the law are not unobjectionable; the retention of debts in spite of the year

* The wisdom of Hillel, Jost, p. 258. Delitzsch, p. 8. Form: comp. the first scoffing words of the scoffers: Why have the Babylonians such unsightly round heads? Delitzsch, p. 31. The song, Jost, 263. Delitzsch, p. 39. Number of disciples, Delitzsch, p. 8. Grätz, p. 206. Presidency in Hillel's fam. comp. Lightf. p. 256. Gamaliel in Sotah, 49, in Jost, p. 203.

† The seven rules of Hillel in Grätz, p. 175. Jost, 1857, p. 255. ‡ p. 258.

of Jubilee is a crafty compromise: his concessions in the case of divorce, as well as in the recognition of marriages brought about by violence, are of lax morality.* In other cases, the attempt at alleviation is trivial: he has in several particulars successfully opposed the Sabbatarian strictness of the followers of Schammai, who forbade even the visiting of the sick on that day; yet on the other hand he has carried on the controversy concerning the egg laid on the Sabbath, which is contemptible in its acuteness even if it were rewarded by a voice from heaven, and in which he goes beyond Schammai himself in his precise observance, while his grandson Gamaliel has limited the aid given in the most urgent cases to 2000 paces.† Moreover, his concessions to Schammai have involved him in evident self-contradictions: thus, the disciples of Hillel, as well as the followers of Schammai, forbade the use of the bread and oil of the Gentiles.‡ The groundwork of his religious conviction is merely a belief in retribution, and a dumb resignation to the almighty power of God, only modified by the unshaken conviction of the calling of Israel, and of the mercy of God, who will one day incline the balance of mercy in favour even of those who are only half good.§ His personal character is most estimable: we find a submission to God which is confident that no cry of despair can proceed from his house, inexhaustible patience and compliance with either the followers of Schammai, or with the scoffers who wagered that they would provoke him to anger, and finally a boundless beneficence which enabled him to hire a horse and trabant for a rich man who had been impoverished, and which once indeed caused the crowd which accompanied him to extend for three miles.‖ One of his most

* The precept: It is lawful to put away a wife, even if she has only burnt the food (Hillel), Gittin, 9, 10, was taken in its allegorical sense by modern Jews; as when a fair reputation was exposed to danger: Jost, p. 264. But why should it run thus: *even if only?* S. Delitzsch, p. 25. Marriage by violence in Jost, p. 264.

† Sabbath, comp. Jost, p. 207. Gamaliel, 282. Dispute about the egg (Beza) in Delitzsch, p. 21.

‡ Herzfeld, 3, 239. Also the land of the Gentiles, p. 249.

§ Geiger, p. 103. ‖ Grätz, p. 174. Delitzsch, p. 31.

lovable and truly humane traits is his defence of the Song of Solomon, "the lovely and charming bride," against Schammai, who was desirous to define sharply the standpoint of truth, while Hillel, from the standpoint of the bridegroom, found the bride worthy of praise.* This world of tradition has not, however, concealed one weakness. Once, when he caused a sacrifice to be slain in the outer court of the Temple, in order to avoid a dispute with the followers of Schammai, he declared that the ox was a cow, while craftily covering the animal with his skirts. In this case there is not only a want of veracity in Hillel, but in this, as in particular utterances, he shows cunning, and he becomes cowardly in his love of peace and unresisting piety.† Who that considers the man as a whole will be unable to love and honour him? But he was no more the master of Jesus, who so frankly rejected Hillel's teaching concerning the washing of hands, and the slightness of the bond of marriage, than he was the true reformer of Judaism, who, as some men have said, was a man of stronger convictions than Jesus, and of independent thought, who had a due conception of the times,—a man of practical life, and not of the cell,—who aimed at a peaceful development, and was possessed with a moderate belief in the future of Judaism, and whose work had only been marred by the enthusiastic popular religion of Christianity. Such a tale, spoken to the ear of the world by Geiger's blind envy of a far greater man, may be left to the judgment of ridicule. For if we put out of the question the invincible contradiction which is offered by Hillel's subjective tendency to his objective standpoint, as well as to the literal belief of the followers of Schammai, and to the belief of the whole school in tradition, we should have to scale off the whole of the unsightly shell which has hitherto evidently adhered to him, in order to prove that the man praised as the reformer of Judaism has originated a single great thought.‡

* Delitzsch, p. 32. † Jost, p. 267. Delitzsch, p. 33, still more plainly.

‡ Comp. the utterances of Geiger, Judenth. u. s. Gesch. p. 99-112.

2.—The Sadducees.

The Sadducees, the antipodes of the Pharisees, were far from possessing the same significance. They formed the second party, and only become important from the contrast they present to the first. They were few in number, without influence on the people, and did not manifest their piety by either warmth or novelty of character.* Their chief value in a history of the religious movements of the time is due to their making the barriers apparent, against which Pharisaism, as the religious movement which possessed the greatest vitality, had chafed, and that they make it possible, by means of the law of contrast, to define the features of Pharisaism in still sharper outline.

They are not however altogether easy to understand. The New Testament adduces as characteristic features those which are not fundamental, the fathers of the Church have misrepresented them, and the later Rabbis taking a one-sided view, represent them to be Epicureans, and this judgment has of late been exaggerated by Langen, who calls them Epicureans and materialists. Down to quite modern times there is the same diversity of opinion. Their original religious position has on the whole been ascertained, but at one time their clinging to antiquity, at another their sympathy with the Greeks, at one time the moderation of their political, at another of their religious opinions, is placed in the foreground, and there is only dire confusion if we attempt to reconcile the abundant traits which are collected by Grätz and Herzfeld, and also by Ewald. Fresh points for discussion which are worthy of consideration have been indicated by Hitzig, as well as by Geiger.†

* Ant. 18, 1-4: ὀλίγοι ἄνδρες. The principal passages concerning them in Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 14. Ant. 13, 5, 9. 10, 6. 18, 1, 4. Philosoph. 9, 29. Grossmann, in Programmen über die Philosophia Sadducæorum, 1836, has arbitrarily applied to them all sorts of anonymous passages in Philo.

† Comp. Ewald, iv. 358. Grätz, p. 76. Jost, Gesch. der Is. seit der Zeit der Makk. iii, 67. Judenth. 214. Herzfeld, 3, 356. Langen, p. 237. Also Winer, Reuss, hist. d. l. theol. chrét. 1. 60, 70. Observe that Grätz does not proceed from the political to the religious, nor Herzfeld from the religious and truly righteous to

Although the view of their social position may appear to be a quite superficial consideration, it offers the first and most important glance at the cause of their separation. The Pharisees were beloved by the common people, and the Sadducees, who were hated by them, were the first in office and dignity, and had their adherents among the richer classes.* From the time of John Hyrcanus, we find that they often held the office of high-priest, and it may be assumed that the family of Boethos, which in the time of Herod the Great and after his marriage to a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon ben Boethos, so often held the high-priesthood, was in connection with the Sadducees, among whom they are ranked by the somewhat mythical writings of the Rabbis; (Zadok and Baitos are assumed to be scholars of Antigonus of Socho, cir. B.C. 200). And since the high-priests, Annas and Caiaphas, the contemporaries of Jesus, were Sadducees, they must, down to the destruction of Jerusalem, have contributed the majority of names to the high-priesthood. This sheds a fresh light on the "opposition to the kings and high-priests" which characterized the Pharisees.† The Sadducees were, after all, nothing more than the Jewish, or more exactly, the sacerdotal aristocracy, as their very name implies. By Epiphanius, the father of the Church, the name is indeed trans-

the aristocrats, the rich and the favourers of the Greeks. Hitzig. Ps. 1865, II. 414. Geiger. Sadd. und Phar. 1863. N. T. See infra. The Church fathers suppose that the Sadd. accepted the Law, and rejected the Prophets. S. Origen c. Cels. 1, 49, who combines them with the Samar. *οἱ μόνον Μώυσεως παραδεχόμενοι τᾶς βίβλους σαμαρεὶς ἢ σαδδουκαῖοι.* In like manner Tert. præscr. 45, where they start from the Sam. Dositheus. Hieron. in Matt. xxii.

* *πρῶτοι τοῖς ἀξιώμασι.* Ant. 18, 1, 4. *τοὺς εὐπόρους μόνον πείθοντες,* 13, 10, 6—*μὴ ἄλλως ἀνεκτοὶ τοῖς πλήθεσι,* 18, 1, 4. *τὸ δημοτικὸν οὐκ ἐπόμενον αὐτοῖς τῶν φαρισαίων τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων.* 13, 10, 6.

† Ant. 13, 10, 5. 17, 2, 4. Boethos, and often again with mention of his descent. The y. of Herod's connection with this family can be more exactly calculated from Jos. It was immediately after the famine (A. U. C. 729-730 = B. C. 25-24. Petronius was at that time prefect in Egypt. Comp. Mommsen, res. gest. div. Aug. 74, who incorrectly defers him until 731-732) and before the great building, *i.e.* cir. B.C. 24-23. Comp. p. 184. The later high-priests in Schrader. Annas, Caiaphas, comp. my Gesch. Christus, p. 239.

lated the Just; (Zaddikim), and among modern critics Herzfeld has maintained this interpretation, and the Sadducees were in fact the righteous, that is, those who were strict about the letter of the law.* But this would not account for the diphthong, as it was spoken, and the Rabbis, as we have seen, resorted to a mythical reference to the proper name of Zadok. The derivation from Zadok has been at this day simultaneously accepted, although on very different grounds, by Ewald, and on the other hand by Hitzig and Geiger, the latter referring to the mythical person of the Rabbis, while the former has a principle in view.† The high-priestly house of Zadok (which becomes Sadduk in the Greek) was traced back to the glorious times of David, and indeed to the zealous Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and grandson of Aaron.‡ Zadok was the faithful priest who wished to accompany the king, with the ark of the covenant, and with the Levites, when he was fleeing before Absalom. Solomon appointed Zadok to be high-priest instead of Abiathar, and his sons succeeded him in office until the days of exile. After the exile the Zadokites, who are highly praised by Ezekiel, the prophet of that day, for their steadfast faithfulness, are among the first to return to the holy land, and their priests and scribes are fellow-workers with Nehemiah.§ They maintained the high-priesthood until the era of the Syrians and Asmoneans, at which time they were supplanted

* Epiph. haer. 1, 14: *ἐπονομάζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς σαδδουκαίους δῆθεν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ὁρμωμένης. σεδὲκ γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται δικαιοσύνη.* Herzfeld, 3, 58, who groundlessly explains the diphthong of "i" into "n" from the equivalent Peruschim. Instead of Zadok and Sadok, there is Saduk, Sadduk, *e. g.* Neh. x. 22, iii. 29, xi. 11 (Sept.). Jos. Ant. 18, 1, 1.

† Hizig. Ps. II. 414:—Ewald, 4, 358, 493. I cannot subscribe to the characteristics here given. "It is the school of freedom, of life, of thought and activity" in the moral decadence of the Greek age. Where then is their conservatism? Ewald indeed makes a remarkable distinction between two stages, the second inaugurated by the appearance of the Pharisees and of Boethos; but this again is not warranted by history.

‡ Ant. 7, 5, 4.

§ 2 Sam. viii. 17, xv. 24, Jos. Ant. 7, 2, 2. 7, 5, 4. 7, 9, 2. 7, 9, 7. 7, 11, 1. 4, 8, 14, Neh. iii. 29, xi. 11, xiii. 13, Ezek. xlviii. 11, Jos. Ant. 10, 8, 6.

by Alkimos, one of Aaron's collateral descendants, and afterwards for a considerable period by Jonathan and the Asmoneans, who were ordinary priests of the house of Jojarib.* Meanwhile the Zadokites, who were the genuine representatives of the high-priesthood, of its privileges and traditions, undertook its defence against the two-fold attack, at once by the modern spirit of the times, and by the Pharisees and Asmoneans, and hence arose the party of the Sadducees, which, as Hitzig declares, it is important to observe was first so called in history under the Asmoneans, who deprived them of the high-priesthood, and who consequently, together with their immediate successors, became their opponents. Later on their differences were modified, and from the time of John Hyrcanus the interests of the Asmoneans and Zadokites were reconciled: the defence of the ancient order of the hierarchy, and the struggle for power continued to be the task of the Sadducees, and in this task, and its accomplishment, they outlasted the Asmoneans. The house of Boethos cannot indeed be wholly merged in the Sadducean party, because, although an illustrious sacerdotal house of Alexandria, it did not claim the high-priesthood as its legitimate right, but political considerations, hierarchical ambition, and the opposition of the Pharisees bridged over this difference.

An aristocracy of the priests, of the nobles, and of the rich takes the first place in conservatism. Its primary principle was in reality, the maintenance of the Mosaic ordinances; nothing but the law! "The Pharisees had allowed the people to omit much which was ordained by the law of Moses, out of regard to the unwritten traditions of the fathers, and therefore the school of the Sadducees rejected these things, declaring that only was to be held binding which is written, and that the precepts gathered from the tradition of the fathers need not be regarded." The sense of this statement is as clear as possible,

* Comp. Jos. 12, 9, 7. 20, 10, 3. 1 Macc. 7, 14, 2 Macc. 14, 7.

and it implies great power of misconception to discover with Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen, in Christian times, that the Sadducees rejected the prophets, to whom they have expressly appealed, although they, like their opponents, under-valued them.* The Sadducees maintained the law, but they rejected the Pharisaic additions as an innovation.† We can easily understand why they hated the new authority of the scribes, which was predominant over the priesthood, but they also rejected the new doctrine on its own account, because it at one time contradicted Moses, and at another charged him with what he had never said. It was a protest against the flood of tradition, which stood in need of amendment, and which might have reminded us of the opposition which Jesus offered to the sayings of men, and of the Reformation, if only, putting its insufficient conclusion out of the question, it had been more deeply imbued with God's word, instead of being prompted by unworthy interests. History or tradition has applied to them the sarcasm that they were unable to defend their position by the Scripture alone, and thus lost their position in the Sanhedrim through Simon ben Schetach.‡

In considering the position of the Sadducees, we find that the strict observance of the letter of the law was their chief characteristic.§ We see them clinging to the written word in a dozen controversies with their opponents. Of this they have given the strongest proof in maintaining literally that judicial sentence; an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But the same purpose is found in their opinion of the impurity of a woman after childbirth, of the uncleanness of a dead body, of the burning of the sweet incense (Lev. xvi. 2, &c.) and of the order taken for the weekly feast. Their vindication of the sacerdotal dig-

* Ant. 18, 1, 4. 13, 10, 6. Appeals from the Sadducees may be found in Am. 4, 13. (Wm.) Tert. præscr. 45. Hipp Phil. 9, 29. Orig. c. Cels. 1, 49. Hier. in Matt. xxii. Comp. p. 373.

† Herzfeld, p. 365.

‡ Herzfeld, comp. p. 385.

§ Comp. Hipp. Phil. 9, 29: *μόνῳ τῷ διὰ Μωυσέως νόμῳ, μηδὲν ἑρμηνεύοντες.*

nity and privileges rested on the letter of the law, as well as on the interests of the class. The priests alone, and not the people, might break the Sabbath by offering sacrifice, and it was only the societies of priests who were not bound to observe the distance which might be traversed to go to their feasts on the Sabbath day. The bloody sacrifice which was joined to the meat offering pertained to the priests and not to the altar. From the priests again (as in the case of the high-priest Mattathias in Herod's reign) they required the highest Levitical purity for certain functions, which were considered unnecessary by the "pure" Pharisees. They were inexorably stern in the punishment of infractions of the law. It was on this ground that they were so eager in their action against Jesus, and they were even more hot against his brother James. They are, says Josephus, harsh and cruel in their condemnation of all other Jews, but they are even more stern against each other. Their punishments were severe even when not prescribed by the law. Only on one point their judgments were milder than those of their adversaries: they followed the law in not punishing men for their opinions, but for their acts.*

Relying upon this law, they rejected with greater decision the modern acts of religion imposed by the Pharisees. They knew nothing of stringent fasts and purifications, and derided them. But the efforts of the people were also hateful to them, since they rivalled the priests who were held pure and blameless by virtue of their office. In their manner of living they were not indeed precisely Epicureans, since they preached the necessity of living subject to the law, if any man wished for a fair and productive life, but yet they were more luxurious than their adversaries, and gold and silver plate was in daily use in their houses.† The fourth of the so-called psalms of Solo-

* Proofs from the Rabbis in Herzfeld, 3, 364, 385. Grätz and Geiger. Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 14: *σαδδουκαίων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ ἦθος ἀγριώτερον, αἵ τε ἐπιμιξίαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπηνεῖς, ὡς πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους.* In like manner, Ps. Sal. 4, 2.

† Among the Pharisees, *οὐδὲν μαλακώτερον*, Ant. 18, 1, 3. Philos. 9, 29: *τοῖς*

mon appears to refer to them, since complaint is made, both of their hypocritical observance of and subjection to the law, and of their lawless, sensual, and impure life.* Their attack upon the Pharisees as to the meaning of the Old Testament as a whole is moreover very remarkable, and not altogether without merit. On this point they have risen from the letter to the spirit, and have constrained the popular mind to consider the contrast between the old and the new material, which had been inserted as though it were old. They have justly vindicated the unfettered right of freely choosing good or evil against the doctrine in which there was a certain hypocrisy, that God alone ordained both the evil and the good, by a divine or even an astrological fate, and maintained that there was a covenant between the nation and God, although indeed both these views may be deduced from the Old Testament.† They opposed the belief which had sprung up since the exile, that the Divine kingdom and the judgment were to be referred to the other side of the grave, as well as the doctrine of the resurrection, and of a heaven of angels and spirits, since they maintained that the theocracy was restricted to this earth, and to their own country, that there was a temporal reward and long life, according to the word of the older Scriptures.‡ On earth, as they declared, according to Hippolytus, lies the aim for man; his resurrection is in the children he leaves behind him: a fair life, riches, honour, an impunity which is due to rectitude and mercy, such is the gain and such the intention of existence. There was not an equally strong conviction on all these points of their creed. They unquestionably denied that there was a resurrection and a future retribution, and in so doing Zadok and Boethos, as it is reported, perverted the saying of Antigonus

τοῦ νόμου ἐθεσὶ προσέχουσι, λέγοντες δεῖν οὕτῳ ζῆν, ἵνα καλῶς βιώσῃ καὶ τέκνα ἐπὶ γῆς καταλείπῃ. The last ancient and golden rule was also prescribed by the Pharis. B. J. 3, 8, 5. Golden plate, Grätz, 3, 456. Herzfeld, 385.

* Ps. Salom. 4, 1-11.

† B. J. 2, 8, 11. Of the astrology of the Phar. Epiph. haer. 1, 16, 2, speaks.

‡ B. J. 2, 8, 11. Ant. 18, 1, 4. Philos. 9, 29.

against serving for hire, and the reverse of this denial follows of course. But it is only the Acts of the Apostles which mentions the denial of angels and spirits, and it is very possible that they did not deny the appearance of angels in the Old Testament, as transient manifestations of the divine, while they derided as a vision of the Pharisees, the complete, established concrete habitations of a future world of the spirits of men and angels, the latter named and ordered in their ranks.* We said that there was a certain justice in this criticism, but we must admit that in sitting down content with the earthly felicity of the Jews, it excluded the development which is indispensable to the human soul, and which the suffering people of God wished to secure for ever by the constraining and divine destiny. Sadduceism appears to be yet more dreary, and stiffened in archaism and hierarchical self-complacency, since, not to speak of a future life, it was unable even to become zealous for an ideal present, the ideal kingdom of God on earth. The word is never found in the mouth of a Sadducee. The kingdom of God is good, as it now is. No future king, no sanctified people is needed here. So long as Moses exists, and the priesthood continues, so long as man lives honestly and enjoys rationally, earthly life is tolerable and happy enough.

Sadduceism was an archaic form of the Mosaic doctrine. But this archaism was allied in a surprising and yet quite intelligible manner with a certain susceptibility to modern culture.† A rigid hierarchy can to a certain extent steep itself in modern ideas without danger: it obtains a semblance of enlightenment, while its foundations are secured by their antiquity and by

* Comp. Acts xxiii. 8, Matt. xxii. 23. Tert. præscr. 45: ausi etiam resurr. carnis negare. Philos. 9, 29; also denial of angels and spirits. Hier. in Matt. xxii: priores Sadd. corporis et animæ resurr. credebant confitebanturque angelos et spiritum, sequentes omnia denegebant. It is said of the disciples of Antigonus, (p. 260) in Ab. R. Natan, c. 5, they would not have spoken thus, if they had believed that there was another world, and a resurrection of the dead.

† Jost also speaks of those who favoured the Greeks.

their diametrical opposition to the rising flood. Since the hierarchy lacked the glow of religious conviction, it was in a condition to become reconciled to the foreigner. The anxious purity which caused the chasm that separated Pharisaism from Rome was altogether wanting in the Sadducees. On the other hand, their high position, wealth and substance necessarily brought them into closer connection with the potentates of the day, including Rome, and enticed them to embellish their lives by foreign arts and culture. It is therefore not surprising that the Sadducees should appear as counsellors of the princes, procuring from the Jewish history the title of doubtful honour of Phil-hellenism, nor that the family of Boethos supported the policy of Herod the Great, and are indeed counted among the Herodians in the New Testament, or that Joazar the high-priest of the same family should reconcile the people to the inauguration of the Roman rule by his high estimate of Quirinius, nor again that the Sadducees should take no offence at the insertion in the proclamations of the name, not only of Moses but of God, in conjunction with that of the Roman rulers.*

The Sadducees appear to have been even more inclined than the Pharisees to the Greek mode of teaching.† They, as well as the Pharisees had their schools, their scribes and special writings, and it is possible that they were constrained by the Pharisees to imitate them by controversy on their own ground in the synagogues as well as in their separate schools. Legal questions served as their chief theme. We have no exact accounts of how far they introduced Greek culture. The later Rabbis have accused them of favouring the Greeks, and we know that at any rate they were not offended by the Homeric poems, and the Pharisees mockingly reproached them because they did not fear to be defiled by contact with these, but only

* Comp. the Galilean Sadd. an exception from the rule, in Herzfeld, 3, 386, 388

† Ant. 18, 1, 4. Acts xxiii. 6-9. *γραμματεῖς τοῦ μέρους τῶν σαδδ., φαρισ.* Comp. Luke xi. 45. Schriften der Sadd. Herzfeld, p. 365.

by their contact with the sacred books.* It is in any case very probable that their principles had become lax with reference to the questions which touched on Greek and Jewish religion, in consequence of their origin and descent from the Hellenized high-priesthood of the Syrian times, even if they were not, as Ewald thinks, directly connected with the Libertines of the Syrian era, and as Hitzig thinks, personally with Alkimos, and when we consider the unbridled Hellenism of those days, their conservative tendency cannot be accounted to have much in common with the spirit of the Asmonean movement. The inordinate love of controversy which characterized the Sadducees forms the strongest argument for their having adopted Greek customs. Contrary to pharisaic and indeed to oriental custom, they were subject to no authority. The one contended with the other, even the scholar against his teacher.† With a taste for contradiction which turned the *pro* and *con* into a trial of skill, they are more worthy of the name of Greek sophists, who advocated or opposed all things, although it is the Pharisaic teachers who are so called by Josephus. It is uncertain how far their denial of the almighty power of God, of the resurrection, of the life after death, as well as their defence of freedom, was based on the Greek schools, but it is not improbable that they confirmed the creed founded on the Old Testament by the aid of Greek unbelief. Therefore it is that they appear even in the Talmud as Epicureans, and as heretics, while in modern times Stäudlin has described them as Stoics, and Langen again as Epicureans. However cautious we ought to be in such a case, and especially since Josephus forbears to compare them with the Greeks, yet both by their principles and by Jewish tradition, as well as by some isolated remarks of Josephus, their connection with the Epicureans is distinctly indicated.‡ If we are surprised by the

* Geiger, Sadd. und Pharis. p. 17. † Ant. 18, 1, 4.

‡ We have only proof of the Sadducees' complete denial of the εἱμαρμένη, which can hardly be considered = Providence, and of a constraining divine power to *evil*,

twofold aspect of these facts, yet it is at any rate no greater than that the Roman priests, Scævola and Cotta, should have been sceptic philosophers, and at the same time high-priests of importance. Besides, the inevitable fact must not be overlooked, that the Sadducees, with all their submissive bearing in the service of the priests, now and then asserted their independence, just as did the Roman colleges, and in earlier days the Greek followers of Epiphanes.*

The Sadducees were wholly estranged from the people. From their want of piety and their cruel severity they were greatly hated. Notwithstanding their offices and dignity, they were not the leaders of Israel. When they tried to act upon their principles, they roused the people to revolt. When they wished to accomplish anything, they were, however much against their will, constrained to follow the Pharisees. Their own women were often inclined towards the more pious Pharisees, and followed their advice in questions of purity.† If now and then they craftily drew the Pharisees after them, there is no doubt

so that Langen goes too far when he makes εἰμ. = πρόνοια. (239) Philos. 9, 29, say that the Sadd. have, like true Jews, declared obedience to the law to be necessary, ἵνα καλῶς βιώσῃ τις καὶ τέκνα ἐπὶ γῆς καταλείπῃ : therefore the blessing of children is the divine reward for obedience. At the same time it is said, μέλειν θεῷ μηδὲν τῶν καθ' ἕνα, therefore no special providence. It is from this statement that they have merited the name of Epicureans. But it must be observed, that it can merely be a near, and yet inexact conclusion of the subsequent historian, and that the Rabbis, although they, like the Epicureans, despised the special Prov. must not be burdened with this statement, since it is in evident contradiction with the first. Whether therefore Jos. Ant. 10, 11, 7, argues against them as Epicureans, is at least not quite certain, and the ἐφορᾶν, B. J. 2, 8, 14: θεὸν ἐξω τοῦ δρᾶν τι κακὸν ἢ μὴ δρᾶν (al. ἢ ἐφορᾶν) τίθενται, which Winer, II, 418, and Ewald may maintain, (4, 362,) is, in spite of Rufin, not to be maintained from the context.

* Seneca, 4, 9 b. Winer, 2. Ed. II, 418. The priests in the times of Antiochus, 2 Macc. iv. 14.

† Ant. 18, 1, 4: πράσσεταί τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὁπότε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχάς παρέλθοιεν, ἀκουσίως μὲν καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκας, προσχωροῦσι δ'οὖν οἷς ὁ φαρισαῖος λέγει, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνεκτοὺς γενέσθαι τοῖς πλήθεσι. This statement also has often been falsely explained. "Unwilling," is referred to the preceding office-holders, not to the cession to the Pharisees which followed. But if it is a fact that the Sadducees were as a rule in possession of the highest offices, it is clear that they did not prefer private life.

that they were far oftener drawn by them. In their want of influence as well as in their principles, the utter feebleness of the whole movement becomes apparent: without any impulse of higher inspiration, without love for the people, an indistinct medley of hierarchical rigidity and foreign enlightenment, Sadducceism can only be regarded as a stage, a process of dissolution, and not a source of fresh life: it was a drag on the popular spirit, by which it was outstripped, and in so far as it acted as a restraint, its influence was bad.

FIFTH SECTION.

The Separatists in the Holy Land.

II.—*The Essenes.*

The Judaism of the præ-Christian era had its highest, although not an irreproachable development, in the order of the Essenes. In this form also it is the most perplexing. They were allied to the Pharisees and yet with very distinctive differences: they were zealous for the law, and yet transgressed it; they were righteous in the spirit of the prophets, and yet more painfully intent than the Pharisees on outward purification. They were Jews, and yet shut themselves out from the nation, servants of Jehovah and yet praying like the heathen to the sun. They were like a Mosaic picture with no inward unity, a phenomenon of religious despair, they are the object of admiration to Jews, heathens and Christians, although their admirers are uncertain to this day whether they were Jews, or a school of Jewish heathens, or, as Eusebius thinks, if they were Christians.*

* Comp. for the Essenes chiefly Joseph. B. J. 2, 8, 2-13. Ant. 13, 5, 9. 15, 10. 4-5. 18, 1, 2-6. Phil. quod omnis probus liber, 867, d. vita contemplativa (conc. the Therapeutæ), p. 889. Details in Phil. Apol. p. Jud. extracts from it in Eus. præp. ev. 8, 10. Plin. 5, 17. Again of more modern date after Bellermann, Gförer, Dähne, Credner, especially Ewald, 4, 476, Zeller, Philos. der Griechen, III., 2, 583. Theol. Jahrb. 1856, 401. Ritschl. Theol. Jahrb. 1855, 315, comp. Altkathol. Kirche, p. 179. Hilgenfeld, Jüdisch. Apokalyp. 1857, p. 215. Frankel's Monatschr. II. 30,

The society of Essenes cannot, as the elder Pliny fables, and apparently Hippolytus likewise, be referred back for thousands of years, or as Philo says, at any rate to the time of Moses, but neither is it altogether so modern as Zeller has wished to suppose, in assuming that there was a connection between the Essenes and the Neo-Pythagoreans. Josephus also frees us from the doubtful calculations of Herzfeld.* He assigns their rise to the time when the Pharisees and Sadducees had their origin, that is, in the middle of the second century before Christ. If we are justified in considering the community as in some sort a forerunner of the Pharisees, and also, on account of the oath taken by its members, to suppose that it was at a time when it was possible for individuals to obtain "rule," that is, in the Asmonean era, we shall be directed to the years 160-130. A little later we have more definite information, such as the assertion of Josephus that the murder of Antigonus by his brother king Aristobulus (B.C. 106) had been predicted by Judas, the ancient and famous Essene. From that time we find scattered notices, down to the boyhood and reign of Herod the Great, to whom Menahem the Essene announced his dominion and its limits (cir. B.C. 60-30), and on this account the society, which had often been grievously persecuted, was able to rejoice in the toleration, protection and honour of the king.† According to this account Essenism had at any rate its special marks: they had famous teachers in Jerusalem, which was not the case later, and Judas and others sat with their scholars in the temple courts, which they afterwards shunned. As late as the time of Herod, and even of Archelaus, Menahem, and afterwards Simon

61. Grätz, Gesch. der Juden. III. 79, 463. Herzfeld, 3, 368. Uhlorn. Art. Essener, Herzog, IV. 174.

* Plin. 5, 17: per secula seculorum. Philos. 9, 27: ἀρχαιοτέρα (ἡ κατὰ τούτους ἄσκησις) πάντων ἐθνῶν. Herzfeld reckons that the Essenes had their origin between B.C. 220-200, or again in 170.

† Ἐσσαῖοι in Philo, ἐσσαῖοι, and more frequently ἐσσηνοί in Josephus. Esseni in Pliny. τάγμα, Jos. ὅμιλος. Phil. Plin. h. nat. v. 15. Their beginnings, Jos. Ant. 13, 5, 9. Essene Judas, B. J. 1, 3, 5. Ant. 13, 11, 2. Menahem, Ant. 15, 10, 5. Persecutions, (Jannæus ?) Phil. q. o. p. l. 879.

were at the seat of government; Menahem was for some time a member of the Sanhedrim, and many other Essenes permitted themselves to take pleasure in the honours of Herod's court and to share in the government.* At the same time foretelling of the future, and instruction in the art of soothsaying (by Judas and Menahem) appears to have been an important occupation, and also the interpretation of dreams (by Simon). We see from this that the development of Essenism is at an end, and that it has quite withdrawn from the life of the people. We should be less disposed to say with Hilgenfeld that Essenism was in its origin a new school of revelation and prophecy: the teachers among the Essenes were, as well as their followers, remarkable for their exemplary lives, and steadfast refusal of the oath, the greater number of them did not profess to prophesy, and since the life of their society was based on the practice of virtues, it cannot be described as merely a school of prophecy.† It is difficult to obtain any explanation of their original character from the name of Essenes. This name has provoked countless interpretations: they were the healers, the holy, the pious, the faithful to God, the mysteriously silent, the watchers, the seers, the agents, the baptists. Of these meanings the best are that of Ewald "the pious," that of Jost "the silent," and that of Grätz "the baptists," if only such titles had not been too general, and if there were a more decided historical trace of the original meaning: for even the connection of the later Jewish "Morning-baptists" with the Essenes is doubtful. No such reproach can be made against the meaning of healers, or physicians; it was a convenient name, popularly applied to many Essenes, and they themselves have, as it may be proved, made use of, and spiritually applied

* Juda, B. J. 1, 3, 5. Ant. 13, 11, 2. Menahem, Ant. 15, 10, 4-5. Simon, B. J. 2, 7, 3. Ant. 17, 13, 3. Essenes in Herod's time, Ant. 15, 10, 5.

† Comp. Jos. on Menahem, 15, 10, 5. With respect to the Essenes, he sets forth the *καλοκαγαθία* of the *ἐμπειρία τῶν θειῶν*. In B. J. 2, 8, 12, we find *εἰσὶ δέ τινες αὐτοῖς, οἳ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προγιγνώσκειν ὑπισχνοῦνται.*

it, since they called themselves the physicians of the body and soul. Yet neither does this name refer to the inmost nature of the case.* In order to some extent to understand the secret, we must comprehend the form in which it appeared at its highest development, in the accounts of Josephus and Philo, at the time of Jesus, and immediately afterwards.

The Essenes, who were estimated at above 4000 by Philo, and at 4000 by Josephus a little later, were essentially Jews, living exclusively in the Holy Land, and in the adjoining parts of Syria, in which there was such a strong infusion of Jewish elements, and generally in large communities, partly in the "cities of the order," in which Jerusalem was originally included, and where the "gate of the Essenes" remained until the city was destroyed, but much more, or indeed exclusively, as Philo asserts, in the retired villages, on account of the immorality of the cities. There is no proof that they founded peculiar cities and villages, as Hilgenfeld supposes.† We can trace their development by the places in which they dwelt, and in the history of their gradual withdrawal from society: they went from Jerusalem into the country, and from the towns into villages, and finally

* S. the meanings of the name in Ewald, 4, 484. Grätz, p. 469. Jost, 1857, p. 207. Herzfeld, p. 393. (seers *μάντεις, θεωρητικοὶ*. Hesych. Suid. Hilgenf.). The same word signifies pious, or guardians, according to Ewald. Others derive it from the silent, Jost. The meaning *ὅσιοι* (the holy) is in Philo, q. o. p. 1, 876. Eus. præp. ev. 8, 11. Salmasius thought of the Syrian city Essa, Ant. 13, 15, 3. The derivation from the verb to heal (healer) or (the healing one) is also in Baur, Uhlhorn, Renan, Herzfeld, p. 371, 393. This is confirmed both by the language, and by the Greek name *θεραπευταὶ* used for the Essenes themselves by Philo, q. o. p. 1. 876, and finally by the earliest express information. Philo, d. vit. cont. 889, (of the Therapeutæ,) *ἰατρικὴ κρείττων τῆς κατὰ πόλεις*. Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 6: *τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος εκλέγοντες—πρὸς θεραπεία νπαθῶν*. Even Ewald admits, p. 485, in spite of all his disproof of the "healers," that they were chiefly known to the people as *physicians*.

† Phil. q. o. p. 1, 876. *Παλαιστίνη καὶ Συρία, ἣν πολυανθρωποτάτου γένους τῶν Ιουδαίων οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα νέμεται*. The proposed reading *Πάλ. Συρίας* is confuted by the passage itself. Epiphanius, hær. 1, 5, speaks of Samarit. Essenes. Herzfeld, 3, 598. Comp. B. J. 2, 8, 4, and Phil. ap. p. Jud. ap. Eus. præp. ev. 8, 11. Hilgenfeld, p. 259.

from the villages to the deserts in which they lived as hermits: thus we find John in the days of Jesus, and the penitent Banus when Josephus was a youth (A.D. 50), and again Pliny, who dedicated his treatise to Titus in the year A.D. 77, found the Essene communities under the date-palms on the western side of the Dead Sea, near the city of Engaddi. Ewald reverses the order of facts, in which he is not justified by history, when he assumes that the Essenes began by living in the deserts, and gradually established themselves in cities.*

The Essenes are in any case of such a marked Jewish type, that they must in the first place be explained by a reference to Judaism, and not to the Greek school of thought. On this point Ritschl, and afterwards Hilgenfeld, are justified in opposing Zeller, who, correctly from his own point of view, only considered them from the basis of Greek philosophy. Ewald, Grätz, Jost, and Herzfeld, have referred them to Judaism, and more precisely, and again with justice to Pharisaism. By the name which is common to both of them of Chasidim, (the pious), which is frequently used for the Essenes, they are connected with the Pharisees, and still more by their efforts after a levitical and sacerdotal purity, and by a theology which began with the almighty power of God, and a divine fate, and ended with eternal life, as the consolation of the martyred. The fame of their love for one another is also common to both. Their teaching and practice are full of demands for purity, for purification and its degrees: but not only their leaders, whom they regarded as the offerers of sacrifice, bore the character of priests, to which Ritschl has lately referred, often indeed arbitrarily enough, but each individual obtained the standing of a priest by taking part in the sacrifices and purifications, which

* Nation, Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 2. Phil. 876. Jos. Ant. 18, 1, 5. Habitations, πόλεις, πόλεις τάγματος, ἐν ἑκάστη πολλοί. Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 4. Gate of the Essenes, B. J. 5, 4, 2. Country life, κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι, τὰς πόλεις ἐκτρεμόμενοι, Phil. q. o. p. l. 876. Also in Jos. 18, 1, 5 (agriculture). Banus in the deserts, Jos. Vit. 2. Engaddi, Pliny, h. nat. 5, 17: socia palmarum. Infra hos Engadda oppidum fuit. Ewald, 4, 483.

were similar to the worship at Jerusalem, but as they thought to be preferred to it, and Philo is full of their likening themselves to priests.* Since there is such an evident connection between the Essenes and the Pharisees, which is also proved by Herzfeld and Grätz in a series of striking peculiarities, and since the tendency to an ideal priesthood is undeniable, it is as unnecessary as it is contrary to probability to say with Ewald, Grätz, and Herzfeld, that they are also connected with the Nazarites: although the question can only be solved by a surmise, it is of much greater importance to discover their motive for separating from the Pharisees. The first thing we gain from a consideration of the circumstances is that, together with the growing corruption of the whole community, with the Asmoneans at its head, who were sinking into worldly craft and imbecility, and afterwards under the rule of Herodians, of the Romans, and of indifferent priests, Pharisaism was stiffened into questions of theoretical doctrine, and had shaped out a new hierarchy of learning in the midst of the people, and finally the worldly policy of the Pharisees gave occasion for a fresh development, which expressed with greater strictness and purity the original principle of "a pure life," and of the sacerdotal virtue to be found in the order of the laity. The Essenes themselves recognized the Pharisees as the stepping stone to their school, while the Pharisees considered that the Essenes were Chasid or Chaber, who had become foolish.†

* Chasidim, s. Grätz, 81, 85, 88, 467. Purity, *καθαροί*, B. J. 2, 8, 5. Comp. Jos. 18, 1, 5. *διαφορότης ἁγνείων* (opp. *θυσίαι.*) Phil. vit. contemp. 877: *ἡ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον συνεχὴς ἁγνεία*: Priests: comp. the expressions, *ἱερεῖς. ποίησις ἱερῶν* (sacrifice) *λειτουργία ἱερά, ἱεροπρεπὴς, ἱερὸν οἴκημα, σεμνεῖον, ἅγιον τέμενος, παρασπόνδια, παραβώμια, προσόδια.* Express comparison with the priests and the temple, *αἰδὼς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης.* Phil. v. cont. 902. *νηφάλια ὡς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θύειν, καὶ τούτοις βιοῦν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ὑφηγεῖται.* (comp. *τὰ ὅμοια ζηλοῦν*, ib.) Comp. the washing after the relief of bodily necessities, B. J. 2, 8, 9: the priests must do likewise, Joma 28 a. in Herzfeld, 389. Faith in *εἱμαρμένη*, Jos. 13, 15. 9. 18, 1, 5. Immortality, s. infra.

† Comp. Phil. q. o. p. l. 879: *ἀρετὴ ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσι.* The reference to Pharisees, Grätz, p. 84. Herzfeld, 388. Jost, 207. But again much of the Essene practice may have been adopted by the Phar. Herzfeld evidently contradicts himself

The essence of their priesthood was pre-eminently a piety in express subjection to the law. "They are singularly reverent to the Godhead. Next to God they chiefly reverence the name of the lawgiver." Whosoever despised him or the ordinances of the land was to be punished with death. They could not be induced by all the mortal dangers and tortures of the Jewish war to dishonour him by a word, or to acknowledge the emperor for their master.* They observed the Sabbath more strictly than all other Jews. They prepared food on the previous day in order that no fire need be lighted on the Sabbath, and did not dare to remove a vessel from its place on that day: they even restrained the necessities of the body, which, in their strict obedience to the most minute particulars of the law, were on ordinary days buried in the earth in some remote place. (Deut. xxiii. 12, etc.)† They strictly maintained the law of meats, and displayed their heroism in this matter by opposing the temptations of their enemies in the Jewish war. At a later date, in the beginning of the third century, Hippolytus informs us that they did not make use of coins, since it was unlawful to carry, to see, or to make an image, and they even avoided entering cities, in order that they might not pass under the statues on the gates.‡ They refrained from frequenting the temple, from which indeed they were excluded, because they would not offer sacrifice, and they refrained from sacrifice because they greatly preferred their own purifications, yet they recognized the hierarchy of Jerusalem in a certain sense, and sent thither their sacred offerings.§

when, in p. 369, he describes the Essenes as ultra-pharisaic, and again, in p. 388, as not in connection with the Phar. Ewald takes them to have been religious men who had separated themselves from the ambitions hypocrites, the Pharisees, 4. 483. Others also (Hirsch) think that the Essenes had their origin in the conflict between the Phar. and Sadd. Herzfeld, p. 399.

* In this they resemble the Zealots, with whom in fact Hippolyt. phil. 9, 26, confounds them.

† B. J. 2, 8, 5. *πρὸς τὸ θειῶν ἰδίως θεοσεβεῖς.* Again, 9, 10. Phil. 877. Detailed examples of their strict observance of the law in the Talmud. Comp. Herzfeld, 3, 373.

‡ Philos. 9, 26.

§ Law of meats, B. J. 2, 8, 10. Sacred offerings, Ant. 18, 1, 5. Recognition of hierarchy, comp. Phil. d. vit. cont. 902.

This breach with sacrifice is a proof of a radical separation from the very Mosaic law to which they were at the same time servilely bound. But the Levitical purity enforced by the Mosaic law itself led to this breach. The Mosaic distinction between the pure and impure was, as Pharisaism has already shown, capable of infinite exaggeration: the Essenes had made use of this distinction to divide the world, and to take half of existence out of God's hands. Good alone, and not evil, comes from God. The material world is impure and evil. God and the world of angels, whose names are known and reverenced, soar far above matter. The human soul, formed of the purest ether, also belongs to the higher degree, but by the arts of magic it has become material, and is fettered by the impure body. Yet these fetters shall not endure for ever; matter is not enduring; the body is perishable, the soul immortal and eternal. Loosed from fleshly bonds, it will, like the captive who rejoices in deliverance from long slavery, soar upwards to a life above the ocean in which there is neither heat, nor snow nor rain; where there is light and the refreshing sea-breezes from the west; while, on the other hand, godless souls sink down in endless torments to the caves of cold and darkness beneath the earth. Their martyrdom in the Jewish war was sustained by this hope. They laughed under torture, they derided their executioners, and gave up their souls with joy, in order to win them back. With this spiritual theology, Josephus says, they throw an irresistible allurement before the souls of those who have once tasted of their wisdom.*

The strength of their asceticism, their renunciation of the world, which was only perfected by such martyrdom, also

* Good only from God. Philo, q. o. p. l. 877 (comp. James i. 13, 17). Matter (ὕλη), the soul, its prison, immortality, B. J. 2 8, 10-11. A somewhat different account of their eschatology, Philos. 9, 27. Light is here also mentioned (εἰς ἕνα χῶρον εὔπνουν καὶ φωτεινὸν). In this account the more pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the body and of the burning up of the world is not wanting. The soul does not rest until the resurrection (ἀναπάνεσθαι) in that happy place. Further as to the Jewish eschatology in the teaching of Jesus, comp. Herzfeld, 3, 301. Langen.

served as an attraction. To be set free from matter was the grand problem of Essenism, however the Pharisees, in the mocking spirit of Sadduceism, might allege that they could not after all their purifications invoke God, since they still bore about their impure bodies with them.* They did not indeed reject all matter. They received plain bread and clear cold water with thanksgiving as the gifts of God. They purified themselves with water for the service of God. They had an especial reverence for light, as the pure ætherial element. Hence came their remarkable *cultus* of the sun, which was not at all in accordance with the Old Testament. They addressed their prayers to heaven before sun-rise, beseeching the sun also that he would arise.† The Therapeutæ of Egypt did the same after the evening worship of the seventh Sabbath. They were careful not to do dishonour to the "pure beams of God" during the day, and it was for this reason that they buried their excrement. Speech and labour began with the sun-rise; the philosophy of the Therapeutæ also considered that the day ended with darkness. Their philosophy, they said, was worthy of the light, and the necessities of the body pertain to the darkness. Hilgenfeld's assertion that the night was particularly sacred to their revelations is therefore false. Nor is Herzfeld justified in appealing to the washings of the hermit Banus, who lived only for himself both by day and night, as a proof of the nocturnal worship. The Sabbath and the seventh Sabbath were equally valued by their contemporaries, the Therapeutæ on account of the meaning of light and number as pure, virginal and eternal.‡ By the help of the pure elements it now

* Grätz, p. 85.

† Jost, p. 211. Of adoration of the sun there need be nothing said. Also Herzfeld. p. 408. Langen, p. 244. Uhlhorn, 176.

‡ God, *χορηγὸς τροφῆς*, B. J. 2, 8, 5. *ὕδωρ διαυγέστατον, ψυχρὸν*, Phil. v. contempl. 900. Jos. Vit. 2. The sun: *ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι*, B. J. 2, 8, 5. *πρὸς τὴν ἕω στάντες*. Vit. cont. 903. *τὰς αὐγὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑβρίζειν*. B. J. 2, 8, 9. *φιλοσ. ἀξία φωτὸς, σκότους σωματικαὶ ἀνάγκαι*. Vit. cont. 284. *ἑβδομὰς ἁγνὴ καὶ ἀειπάρθενος*, 899. Philo here mainly appeals to the significance of numbers.

concerned them to be released from all that was impure, to discover that which was good for soul and body, and to be steeped in the æther of the Divine Being.*

They therefore restricted themselves to such care of the body as was absolutely necessary. "Pleasure is depravity, self-restraint is virtue." Their self-restraint permitted at most some pulse with their bread and water, or, as among the Therapeutæ, some salt and hyssop. Luxurious dainties only excited the sensual desires. Their table was pure from that which had blood, from flesh, which they supposed to be impure from having its origin in carnal connection, and on this account also they refrained from the sacrifice of animals. Wine was prohibited as the drink for fools. They preferred to dress like priests in white, glittering garments: the white mantle was ordained for divine worship, but when they were at work they also liked to wear a white under-vest, especially in summer, while in winter the Therapeutæ covered themselves with shaggy skins.† They were so frugal of their clothes and shoes that they only laid them aside when they were in tatters. They refrained from anointing themselves with oil, and washed it off at once when they had been anointed against their will: they considered it to be not only luxurious, but uncleanly.‡ They avoided marriage. According to Josephus and Philo, they did not absolutely disallow it, but they feared the strife and quarrels, the untruth, haughtiness and sensuality of women, whom it was hard to keep faithful to one husband. One branch of the Essenes indeed accepted marriage. But even this party was

* *ὠφέλεια ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος*. B. J. 2, 8, 6.

† Principle, 2, 8, 2. Diet, B. J. 2, 8, 5. V. contempl. 895, 900, 902. *ὄψα πολυτελῆ*, V. cont. 900. *ἡ τράπεζα καθαρὰ ἐναίμων*, 900. *οἶνος φάρμακον ἀφροσύνης*. ib. *νῆψις*, B. J. 2, 8, 5. Clothing: *λευχειμονεῖν διαπαντὸς ἐν καλῷ τίθενται*, B. J. 2, 8, 3. By the fact that the *σκεπάσματα λινᾶ* were only worn for the lustrations and the sacred meal does not controvert this statement, and Philo mentions Vit. contemp. 895, as the summer garment, *ἐξωμὶς ἢ οθόνη* (linen), in the winter *χλαῖνα παχεῖα ἀπὸ λασίου δορᾶς*.

‡ B. J. 2, 8, 3. The *αὐχμεῖν* may be here explained: they like to live harshly, or to be dry. Hilgenfeld.

rigorous in their principles, and only lax in practice, since they believed that the race of man was threatened with extinction if marriage were abolished: the betrothed women were to undergo a three years' trial, with purifications, and the bringing forth of children was set before the people as the object of marriage. But the school as a whole preferred to lose all than to make this admission: the Therapeutæ would hardly allow the unmarried and for the most part elderly women, to sit on the left hand of the men. This was clearly founded on the general belief, which we find likewise in Philo, that woman is sensuality, that generation, conception and birth are a defilement, involving us in matter. "The immortal are above the children of mortality," those souls which are born into the love of God, in which the Father has infused the seed of spiritual beams.* Their external possessions were still further removed from them. "They heap up no treasure of gold and silver, nor great estates from a desire of income, only obtaining that which is necessary to life. They, almost alone among men, held those to be richest who were destitute of gold and silver, and estimated ease and competency as the superfluity which indeed it is."† In this manner these hermits took their place in the world, detaching themselves from it at every hour, in thought, in act and in ablutions, which not only preceded the use of God's name, but accompanied the most innocent actions.‡ How unclean must the world have been when it was not only necessary to wash after contact with the Gentiles, but even after that with an inferior brother of their order! Out of this world of discord, out of the conflict between light and darkness, day and night, man and woman, right and left, they laboriously

* Pliny, 5, 17: gens sine ulla femina. *ὑπεροψία γάμου*, 2, 8, 2. The gentler party: § 13, Phil. Vit. contempl. 899. *γυναῖκες, ὧν πλεῖσταί γηραιαί, παρθένοι τὴν ἁγνείαν. ἀθανάτων ἐκγόνων ὀρεχθεῖσαι ἀντὶ θνητῶν.*

† Q. o. p. I. 877. *πλούτου καταφρονηταί*, Jos. B. J. 2. 8, 3.

‡ Comp. the *ἀπολούεσθαι*, B. J. 2. 8, 9, 10. For Banus, Jos. V. 2. *often* by day and night: *πολλάκις πρὸς ἁγνείαν.*

worked their way, only unhappily to begin again, until death, their deliverer, came.*

The severe and continent life of the Essenes did not merely prolong their lives: (Josephus speaks of many who were more than a hundred years old, and Philo of grey-haired unmarried women:) it led to the communion with God which was of far greater importance to them. Exalted into these relations to God, the Therapeutæ beheld and rejoiced in Him for whom they longed, towards whom they were ecstatically drawn by divine love, and believed that mortality was already ended in the sweetness of an immortal and blessed life, and even in sleep they beheld the divine beauty, and declared the mysteries of philosophy in dreams. By means of their purifications, and ancient sacred books, in which they not only included the Prophets, but the books of healing and of exorcism which were ascribed to Solomon, the Essenes obtained insight into the nature of God, and of His angels, whose secret names they knew and interpreted, revealing the inferior degrees by symbols and allegories. For they, as well as Philo, discerned a soul and a body in the Holy Scriptures, into the nature of which only the human soul which was spiritually congenial could look, through the glass of the letter. It is for this reason that we hear of an Essene philosophy, and of their preferring ethics to logic and physics, and it is, strictly speaking, a philosophy without Greek terms. They could look into the future, and were seldom mistaken in their predictions. Judas, their teacher of prophecy, never failed, and Simon and others interpreted dreams; they consulted their ancient scriptures for the healing of the sick by means of herbs and minerals; they expelled the devil with the forms of exorcism used in Solomon's books, and Onias, the weather-maker, even constrained the heavens to break the

* Right and left in contrast: at a meal men to the right, women to the left. Vit. cont. 899. The right hand between breast and beard, the left at the side, 894. Forbidden to spit, B. J. 2, 8, 9.

curse of drought, and to pour forth rain.* The fact has not been noticed that the author of the Christian book of the Revelation shows signs of the Essene teaching, which are indeed not wanting in the Old Testament.†

Yet Essenism is in our estimation exalted above its development of purifications and sorceries to a considerably higher standard, since it not only entered into the spirit of mysterious terms, but also into the spirit of the law and the prophets. In the first case it only carried the folly of the Pharisees to an excess, in the latter it was the prophet and reformer of the age. The twofold nature of the law and the prophets was brought forward much more prominently than had been done by the Pharisees. Their youth were educated in both, and it was not merely the predictions of the prophets but their moral teaching which they valued. We can reconcile ourselves to many of their purifications since the moral teaching of the prophets is involved with them.‡

"To enter into righteousness is held by them to be worth every struggle and effort." "In what to choose and avoid, they have three objects, the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man."§ Add to this, that they refer all acts back to the intention, and wrestled for the victory over their passions, over lust and anger. The rejection of the sacrifice of animals was not only founded on the impurity of the flesh.

* Phil. Vit. cont. 891, 893. Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 6. 7, 10. 12. Soothsaying also in Philos. 9, 27: *ἀσκεῖται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ προφητεύειν καὶ προλέγειν τὰ ἐσόμενα.* Symbols, allegories. Phil. q. o. p. l. 877. Vit. contempl. 893, 901. Jos. 2, 8, 6. Their philosophy, Phil. q. o. p. l. 877, 878. Jellinet has, without obtaining assent, referred the book of Jubilees, and also the book of Noah, to the Essenes. Langen, p. 85. Comp. moreover the passages above on Judas, Menahem and Simon; and again Grätz, p. 84, 469.

† Comp. Rev. xiv. 4. the *παρθένοι, οἵ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν*, the *λευκοί*, vii. 14, &c. the *λουτρὸν*, i. 5, vii. 14, xxii. 4, the removal of the altar of blood sacrifice. xi. 1, the *πτωκοί*, ii. 9. the images of light, water, metals, *e g.* Ch. xxi. also xxii. 2. The N. T. see inf.

‡ *νόμος καὶ προφῆται*, Phil. Vit. contempl. 893. *προφητῶν ἀποφθέγματα*, Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 12.

§ Jos. Ant. 18, 1, 5. Phil. q. o. p. l. 877. *φιλόθεον, φιλάρετον, φιλάνθρωπον.*

"They sacrifice no animals, but they desire to make their dispositions such as are worthy of a priest." They were disposed to extreme truthfulness in their words. They could not tell a lie. Their word was of more value than an oath, which indeed they shunned out of reverence for the holy and mysterious God. An oath appeared to them worse than perjury, since that man was already condemned, who was not to be believed except on oath. They constrained Herod the Great to remit the oath to them, rather than to the Pharisees.* The occupations of their lives was moreover no mere negative retreat. Their daily labour was thoroughly wholesome, they cultivated the land, (on this point also quite differing from the Rechabites) and were shepherds and bee-masters, while others followed peaceable trades: none however were armourers or smiths, although they carried arms as a protection against robbers on a journey, and trading, sea-faring, shop-keeping, and anything which might lead to evil or to covetousness was unknown among them.† On entering the order, they promised in a formula, which from its tone of general benevolence may be referred back to earlier and less sectarian times, that they would in the first place religiously serve the Godhead, and that next they would be just towards all men, injuring no one, either at the command of others, or from personal inclination, that they would hate the unrighteous, and make common cause with the righteous, that they would keep their word with all, including their rulers, since no one obtained dominion unless it was ordained of God. If they themselves were in power, they would not exercise it arrogantly, nor seek to excel those subject to them in dress or any greater display: they would ever love truth and seek to convict liars: they would seek to keep their hands pure from theft and robbery, and their

* Sacrifice of animals. Phil. q. o. p. l. 876. Vit. cont. 900. Oath, Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 6. Phil. q. o. p. l. 878. V. cont. 895. Herod, Jos. Ant. 15, 10, 4-5. *Ὀμοῦ. καθεκτικοί.* &c. B. J. 2, 8, 2, 3, 6.

† Trade, Phil. q. o. p. l. 877. Bearing arms, B. J. 2, 8, 4. They have already been compared with the Rechabites. (Jer. xxxv.)

souls pure from unholy gains.* They were perfectly frank with the members of their order, and more loving than in any other party: they had indeed their possessions in common.† They waited on the old with the filial care of sons and daughters. They would not tolerate slaves, and slavery was an unrighteous abomination to them, contrary to God and nature, since our common mother created and nourished all men as brothers allied in blood, and it was only malignant covetousness which burst asunder the bond of kindred, and changed relationship into estrangement, and love into enmity.† But they also admitted the duty of love towards those who were without: subject in all else to their president, they were free in two things, in aiding others, and in compassion.‡

All this piety was summed up in the singular fact of such a remarkably exclusive community. The Essenes were a league of virtue (*Tugendbund*) in the highest sense of the word. As a rule, many of them lived together. They exercised acts of piety among, and towards each other. Communism was the fundamental and characteristic law of the society. "Mine and thine belong to thee." Josephus says that a remarkable community of goods existed among them, and none among them could be found who possessed more than the others: it was ordained that those who entered the society should make over to it their possessions. It is for this reason that neither the misery of poverty nor the splendour of riches is seen among them, since all were like brothers in having one property, since their possessions are in common.§ They lived however in separate houses, and by no means, as Herzfeld supposes, all together in one house, or in a convent: each man

* B. J. 2, 8, 7. Hilgenfeld, 261, arbitrarily interprets their "dominion" into the offices of their order.

† φιλάλληλοι τῶν ἄλλων πλέον. B. J. 2, 8, 2. Demeanour of the young to the old, Phil. q. o. p. l. 878. Vit. cont. 900. Slaves, Ant. 18, 1, 5. Phil. q. o. p. l. 877. Vit. cont. 899.

‡ B. J. 2, 8, 6: ὲύο ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτεξούσια, ἐπικουρία καὶ ἔλεος.

§ B. J. 2, 8, 4.

pursued his special calling, and had a right to live by his trade, and to do good to others by providing them with food, although this might not be done for relations without special leave. They might also barter necessaries with each other, but it was to be done without buying or selling: some things however might be received from a brother without barter. Wandering Essenes, to whom it was forbidden to take anything for the journey, might enter the house of their entertainer as if it were their own. But whatever was gained in husbandry and trade belonged to the general fund.*

This community of goods was in the outset only possible to a piety which filled each individual with ardour to sit loose to the world at any price, abandoning marriage and property. Communism was in such a case the right method, at once of having nothing and of retaining somewhat for urgent necessities and offices of love and compassion. A strict and rigid organization was needed to maintain the extensive framework of the society in an orderly manner. The Essenes had presidents, probably only for separate districts, in charge of the common property, of the receipts and expenditure. They had also to overlook the labours of individuals, whom they sent out to their work, and they exercised the right of decision as to the contributions to be made by members to their relations. No doubt these "good men" were at the same time the officiating priests at divine worship and the meals of sacrifice. In every city of the order there was a man appointed to take charge of the Essene foreigners, who assigned clothing and necessaries to them. There may also have been special attendants on the sick. The subordination to these officials must have been more tolerable, since they were elected by the whole

* B. J. 2, 8, 4-6. Grätz, p. 81. Herzfeld, p. 369. The account of Josephus (2, 8, 4), as well as of Philo (q. o. p. 1. 877), tends throughout to separate dwellings, in which alone the relative independence in details was possible. The manner of life among the Therapeutæ also points to this. Philo speaks of a ὁμωρόφιον, of a common roof (p. 878), but this refers throughout to their assemblies. Among others, says Philo, there are no ὁμωρόφιον, ὁμοδίαιτον, ὁμοτράπεζον.

body of presidents. The general assembly was also superior to these presidents. In it at least one hundred Essenes were included, against whose decision there was no appeal. Votes were decided by age, and by the majority. It is certain that the first assembly was composed only of the elders.* They had a four-fold division into classes. In the first were the novices, who were not admitted to the ablutions and the meals, but were furnished with the axe, for trench-digging, with the apron, for the washing of hands, and with the white garment, and underwent a year's probation of this way of life. Although childless themselves, and in spite of the lack of births, as Pliny says, the "people of eternity" did not lack the children of other men, whom they reared for their order, nor the older men who were weary of the world, and sought here for a peaceful life.† The second class consisted of proved novices, who were more nearly admitted to the community, and in particular to the lustrations, but were not held worthy of the sacred meal. In this class they remained for two years. The third consisted of those who were formally accepted, and who, as far as we can trace, were younger either in age or in service, consisting both of youths and of elderly men; and finally the fourth class was composed of such as had belonged to the order from early youth, and had collected the greatest amount of Essene knowledge and practice.‡ It is very probable that it was only this presbytery, the fourth class, as those who were purest and who were freed from defilement by previous connection with the lower degrees, which formed the final assembly. It was their office to elect the presidents and priests, as well as to accept

* B. J. 2, 8, 3-9. Ant. 18, 1, 5.

† Pliny, h. nat. 5, 17: gens sola, sine femina, omni venere abdicata. Ita per seculorum millia, incredibile dictu, gens eterna, in qua nemo nascitur: tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est.

‡ B. J. 2, 8, 7, 10. And especially Phil. Vit. cont. 899. If according to Phil. apol. p. Jud. ap. Eus. præp. ev. 8, 11, only the τέλειοι ἄνδρες πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίναντες appear as accepted, yet this can only refer to the highest class, since much is said both by Josephus and by Philo of the young men who were at the meal. Hilgenfeld on the other hand, Jüdisch Apok. 259.

or reject members. They were received at the end of the third year, bound by terrible oaths, which were the only ones known among the Essenes. They were pledged to piety and righteousness, and swore to conceal nothing from the members of their party, and to reveal nothing to those who were without, even when threatened with death: they were to keep secret the books of the society and the names of the angels, and to bring no discredit on the doctrine delivered to them. Greater sins were punished with expulsion from the order, and this was even more dreaded than death. Custom and their oath forbade the excommunicate to receive food from those who were not of the order. Subsisting only on the herbs of the field, and inwardly miserable, such wretches died of exhaustion: the community might out of compassion relieve them at the point of death, since they were received to draw their last breath, now that the atonement for their sins was sufficient.*

We must glance at the mode in which the Essene society divided their day's work. Very early, before sunrise, there was common prayer to the God of light. Then came their several labours, until the end of the fifth hour. About midday, the men and women assembled, wearing linen garments, in order to bathe in cold water. When purified they repaired to the sacred house, the threshold of which was crossed by no profane person nor novice: this was their temple, the place of sacrifice and a hall for feasting at the meal of sacrifice. They entered in silence, and over the food which each man brought, consisting of bread, pottage and water, a priest uttered a prayer to God, the giver of nourishment, thereby consecrating the food as a holy sacrifice.† The infirm, besides being relieved from labour, were somewhat favoured by the addition of hyssop and warm water, as well as by the filial offices of the younger men. They were silent during the meal, and the uninitiated

* B. J. 2, 8, 7-8. Thus Judas Maccab. once lived in the wilderness, 2 Macc. v. 27.

† *ποίησις σίτου τε καὶ βρωμάτων*, Ant. 18, 1, 5.

believed that there were awful mysteries. Only one might speak at a time; ten sat together, as the smallest number allowed at a sacred assembly, which was also the case among the Pharisees, and one might not speak when the nine were opposed to it.* Probably among them, as among the Therapeutæ, questions were stated, or a Scripture-saying interpreted. A prayer from the priest concluded the meal. After it the sacred garments were laid aside, and work began anew until dusk. Then the evening meal took place in a similar manner, in which sometimes foreign Essenes, who had arrived as guests, took part. The Sabbath was kept as a feast. All labour ceased, they assembled in the synagogue, probably identical with the house set apart for the meal of sacrifice, and seated themselves on the altar-steps, the younger men at the feet of the old. One read aloud out of the law of their land, and the most experienced among them expounded, clothing the mystery in symbols. The others remained quiet, only giving a sign of assent or doubt with the head, the eye, or hand.†

The life of the Egyptian Therapeutæ took a somewhat different colour. The Greek name fully corresponds to the Aramaic term, the Essenes.‡ There has been a controversy as to whether the sect originated with the Essenes of the Holy Land, or with the Egyptian Therapeutæ: since we can neither believe with Bellermann that they were on a perfect equality, nor with Neander that they were wholly independent of each other. The latest scholars consider the question superfluous, since they hold Philo's treatise on the Therapeutæ to be spurious, and only an embellishment of Christian monachism, as it began in Egypt. This opinion indeed does great

* The ten, B. J. 2, 8, 9. Comp. Pirk. Ab. III. 6: Ribbi Chelpheta dicit: decem qui una sedent et occupati sunt in discenda lege, divinitas quiescit inter eos, &c. Comp. the ten Chasidim in the desert, 2 Macc. v. 27. So also Herzfeld, 2, 392.

† B. J. 2, 8, 5. Phil. q. o. p. l. 877. Comp. V. cont. 901.

‡ Phil. q. o. p. l. 876, identifies them with respect to their names: ἐσσ. = θεραπευταὶ Θεοῦ. This does not prevent him from regarding the Egypt. Therapeutæ in cont. Vit. as something specific.

violence to history, since the treatise not only breathes the spirit of Philo, but that of præ-Christian and indeed of Essene Judaism. It is therefore easy to discover, and on this point Ritschl and Hilgenfeld, as well as Herzfeld, have justly differed from Gfrörer and Zeller, in their assertion that the Egyptian type was an exaggerated, forced and unsound development of the sect, as it appeared in Palestine. It is evident that the exaggerated form must have resulted from that which was moderate rather than that the case was reversed. The course taken by Essenism itself, from the towns to the villages, and then into the deserts, will moreover serve to mark the time in which the Egyptian hermits had their origin.*

The Egyptian Therapeutæ began by an absolute retreat from active life. Seized with a longing for a divine life, they forsook house and goods, relations and friends, going away from parents, brothers, sisters, wives and children, and escaping from a life of corruption to settle outside the town in the solitude of the country. The greater number, and those who were the worthiest, lived near the lake Mareotis, to the south of Alexandria. When Philo in one place speaks of their diffusion through the whole world, it is an exaggeration, or rather, he confuses the hermit life of the Jews with like phenomena among the Greeks and Barbarians.† In these parts they lived,

* For various surmises, comp. Uhlhorn, Art. Essener, Herzog. Even Zeller, 3, 583, agrees with the order given by Baur and Gfrörer, in considering that the Therapeutæ were the original sect. Hilgenf. and Ritschl, are justly opposed to it. Dähne believes in two branches from one stem of Alexandrine philosophy and asceticism: the theorists and the practical, as Philo formerly said. On the other hand, Grätz, p. 463, has again spoken in detail against the authenticity of Philo's book, d. Vit. cont. So indeed q. o. p. l. is unauthentic! The proofs, also rejected by Herzfeld, 3, 382, are altogether insufficient. The chief proof, that the treatise speaks of a preceding attack on the Essenes, while in the book q. o. p. l. scarcely one half treats of them. Also he believes that they evidently appear as Christian monks. But where are *Christian* traces? The Therapeutæ are Jews, sun-worshippers. They are also distinguished from the Egyptian monks by their love of science.

† Grätz adduces this as an argument for Christian monks, who were generally diffused at an early date. (as early as the time of Eus. or of Philo?) But has not Philo compared both the Essenes and Therapeutæ with the Gymnosophists and

not far distant from each other, but every man in his own little house, his sanctuary and his cell. They lived alone for the whole week, not stepping over the threshold, nor looking out. They did no work, nor is there any account of purifications. They prayed at dawn and in the evening twilight, and in the interval they studied their sacred books, and composed songs and hymns in many metres. They were only theorists beside the men of practical life who lived in the Holy Land. They were philosophers, even by night and in their dreams.* Yet they were not deficient in practice. None ate until night, many fasted for three days, several for six, only on the seventh, as the Sabbath, all took moderate care of the body. It was also the day for meeting in their common sanctuary. The men and women sat divided by a partition. One of the oldest and most experienced spoke. The seventh Sabbath, the 50th day, which was eternally pure, was held to be of the highest sanctity. They met with ceremonious joy, wearing white garments, and at a signal from the president of the day, they stood up, lifted eyes and hands to heaven, and prayed that the meal of sacrifice might be acceptable. The elder men reclined upon a layer of the papyrus, and the worthiest youths waited on them, but without any badge of servitude. They feasted on leavened bread (dreading the unleavened bread of the temple) salt, hyssop and water. Every thing was done in silence, and they feared even to draw breath. The Scripture was interpreted, and difficulties solved. Applause closed the exhortation when it met with approbation. The president then raised a hymn, either composed by himself or an ancient one, others

Magi, with the wise man, Kalanos, with Anaxagoras and Democritus? Josephus again with the Daci and Polistes, Ant. 18, 5.

* On this Hilgenfeld relies, p. 267, for his assertion that the night was especially sacred among the Essenes. This is first incorrect, since Philo is only speaking of the Therapeutæ, but it also contradicts all the fundamental facts. Jos. B. J. 2, 8, 5, when he says that they do not discourse of secular matters before sunrise does not thereby prove the sacred character of the night, but the necessity of sanctifying their lives by morning prayer.

followed him and the multitude joined in the chorus. The table was removed, and the sacred solemnities of the night began. Two choirs of men and women, with their choir-leaders stepped forward and sang together, and then again alternately with gestures and movements. In the height of the celebration they were united in one choir, emulating in their divine fervour the triumphant song of Moses and Miriam. The morning dawned, and they directed their eyes and the whole body towards the reddening east. When the sun rose, they raised their hands to heaven, greeting one another with wishes for a happy day, for truth and spiritual discernment, and they returned contentedly to their solitude, friends with God and man, and supremely happy.*

Could the community, formed by the Essenes, have been purely Jewish? Such a question demands an answer from us. The reply may be made that the Essenes can be wholly intelligible as a result of Judaism. Every thing is Mosaic or a possible deduction from the Mosaic law. Every thing is in accordance with the prophets, or is deduced from the prophetic teaching. It would be easy to prove that the effort after righteousness, the conception of the priesthood and of purifications was based both upon the law and the prophets, or at any rate on the interpretation put upon them by the more modern Jews, and also that the demand for truthfulness without an oath, for piety without a sacrifice, for the love of our neighbour even to the extent of having all things in common, and disclaiming slavery, and again the expectation of immortality were all a development of the prophetic teaching. Even their symbolical worship of the sun, and their very name, seem to point to the prophets. We may remember a passage in Isaiah: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the

* See the whole treatise d. Vit. contempl. Comp. Herzfeld, 3, 509.

hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out into thy house? when thou seest the naked that thou cover him: and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee: the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward." But how many other passages must occur to us, numerous passages against the worship of sacrifice, exhortations to the offering of the heart, and to love, and foremost of all, the brief saying of Hosea, which was presently to be echoed in the mouth of one who was greater than he, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice!"* If indeed we look beyond Palestine, there is much and indeed precisely that which is most obscure, which may be referred to the influence of Philo's theology, in which he incorporated Greek, and especially Pythagorean philosophy, as it has been observed by Gfrörer, Dähne and others. In fact the dualism of their theories about the world, the allegorical interpretation of the Scripture and much else, including the Essene worship of the sun, becomes quite intelligible on reference to the Alexandrine school. Philo himself speaks of the sun and stars as visible gods, and says: Marvel not if the sun is by the rules of allegory equivalent to the Father and Leader of all, for in truth there is nothing like unto God, but man has thought that there are only two things, the visible and the invisible: the invisible being the soul, (as Moses says that man is in the image of God) and the sun is that which is visible.† So again Josephus, who had received Hellenistic culture and was at the same time a disciple of the Essenes, calls it an offence against God to leave the dead lying

* Isaiah lviii. 8, lx. 20. Hosea vi. 6.

† De somn. 576: *μὴ θαυμάσῃς δὲ, εἰ ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ τοῦς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας ἐξομοιοῦται τῶ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων. Θεῷ γὰρ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μεν οὐδὲν, ἃ δὲ δόξῃ νενόμισται, δύο μόνα ἐστίν, ἀόρατον τε καὶ ὁρατὸν δὲ ἥλιος.* That Philo himself named Pyth. see p. 215. Hilgenfeld, p. 273, adduces proofs from the book of Enoch for the interpretation of the movement of the stars in earlier Judaism. But these and other passages, as interpreted by Dillmann, only declare that the stars are witnesses of human action.

"under the sun." The 4th book of the Maccabees, which dates from the first Christian century, also dwells much upon light.*

There are no urgent reasons for assuming any Greek influence, not to speak of that of the Persians, when we consider the facts of Essenism.† These urgent reasons only have their origin in the historical fact that there was an earlier parallel to it upon Greek soil. The Essene principles are connected in a multitude of instances with the speculations of the school of Pythagoras, who, according to his biography by Iamblichus, had passed from Egypt into the Holy Land, upon Carmel, the mount of Elijah. Zeller has pointed out in detail their points of resemblance, and Herzfeld the differences between them.‡ There was in both an ascetic habit of life, a rejection of flesh, wine, of marriage and of the sacrifice of animals; both prescribed the wearing of white garments, purifications, a sacerdotal tone, a moral life, a refraining from oaths and slavery, an organization into ranks, silence and the observance of mysteries, belief in a divine destiny, and intermediate beings; both taught reverence for the sun, and retreat from the world, as well as the immortality of the soul, allegorical interpretation and the teaching of numbers, magic and soothsaying. An historical hypothesis may be founded on such complete analogies; their credibility can simply rely on the historical impossibility that two schools of thought completely independent of each other should have produced on Greek and Jewish soil a long and uninterrupted series of characteristics of which the coincidence may be to some extent accidental. It is impossible also to deny the fact, that although many parties

* B. J. 4, 6, 3: comp Langen, p. 246. For 4 Macc. (*e.g.* § 17,) see ib. p. 75.

† Hilgenfeld, das Judenth. im Pers. Zeitalter, Zeitschr. 1866, 408. He fortunately, however, only speaks of a "breath." But the date when the party originated prohibits this fresh hypothesis; the worship of the sun is otherwise explained; the teaching of immortality has a Greek form. Nor can celibacy and fasts come from the Persians. (Comp. p. 403.)

‡ Iamblich. Vit. Pyth. C. 3, comp. Jos. c. Ap. 1, 22. Relation to the Pyth. also in Baur, Bellermann, Frankel, Herzfeld, p. 369, 400.

among the Essenes may have been in this manner more fully enlightened, yet their views of the nature and future of the human soul, which were wholly expressed in Greek forms, their worship of the sun, which Philo, in spite of all his assertions, never carried so far, their refusal to take an oath, their rejection of slavery, and their communism are principles which neither Philo nor the prophets had expressed with the same plainness. In this assertion we are justified by the text of Josephus: he has not only expressly declared that the Essene hope of immortality was, quite unlike that of the Pharisees, derived from the Greeks, but he has spoken of Essenism as a whole, not as a mere comparison, as in the case of the Pharisees, as resembling the Greek philosophy, and, as he frankly expresses it: it was a way of life in use among the Greeks, and taught by Pythagoras.* In fact, it is not only Baur or Zeller who have affirmed this dependence, but also Ewald, Herzfeld, Langen, Lutterbeck, and finally even Ritschl, have, while justly maintaining that its roots were to be found in Judaism, not excluded the foreign influence.† Whether a school which (notwithstanding the assertion of Herzfeld) relates absolutely nothing of a founder, was originally formed on Greek principles, or, which is more probable, only engrafted the support of Greek elements, whether these elements were derived from Syria, or as is commonly believed (and also by Langen) from Egypt, perhaps from the Jews of Palestine who owed their culture to Alexandria,—these are questions which must remain as obscure as the fate of the Pythagorean school itself, which after becoming extinct about 300 years before Christ, was again to be traced towards

* Ant. 15, 10, 4: *γένος δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ διαίτῃ χρώμενον τῇ παρ' ἕλλησιν ὑπὸ πυθαγόρου καταδεδειγμένῃ.* Quite unlike the Pharisees, Vita 2: *παραπλήσιός ἐστι τῇ παρ' ἕλλησι στωϊκῇ λεγομένῃ (αἱρέσει)* or comp. 18, 1, 5.

† Comp. Ewald, Gesch. Israel. 3, 2, 419. Lutterbeck, neutest. Lehrbegriffe, 1, 271. Langen, 191. Hermes as early as 1721: Essæos non fuisse Judæos, sed philosophos barbaros judaizantes. Ritschl. Altkathol. Kirche, p. 179. Hilgenfeld, p. 246, Herzfeld, 3, 368, 404: eclecticism. He more precisely supposes that the founder went from Judea to Alexandria, and returned with many acquisitions of knowledge, cir. B.C. 220. (B.C. 200, p. 406, 170. B.C. ib.)

the end of the Roman republic. The Syrian and not Egyptian abode of the Essenes, their active connection with Syria when the school began, as well as the morning greeting of the sun, which was customary there and even imitated by the Roman legions, lead us to think of Syria in the first place, while we are directed to Egypt by the essential sympathy with the Jewish philosophy to be found there.* This much is plain: Essenism is a noteworthy, and almost incredible token of the susceptibility and desire of perfection which characterized the Jewish mind, since, almost immediately after the war of revolt against the Syro-Greek civilization, the ideas of the external world thrilled through the very heart of the Holy Land, and the inmost strata of popular Pharisaism. But even more does it set forth the enduring tenacity and power of resistance which lay in the Hebrew nature, and which, permanently assimilating only congenial elements, interwove them with the essence of the religion of the Old Testament so that the original threads could no longer be traced, and by means of this effectual fusion, created the life of a community, flourishing in piety and righteousness, such as the Pythagorean school, which had been repeatedly disorganized, languishing and dying, could never attain.

It is plain that Essenism is a very remarkable phase of the old world. It has inspired Philo, and even Josephus the Pharisee, and there is no end to their praises of the good men, athletes of virtue, friends of God, blessed men, and living instances of the righteousness which had been so little regarded by the Greeks and Barbarians, and of the love which was unexampled even among the Jews, of the community of goods which had been lauded rather than practised by others, and of the height of virtue which to others would appear impossible. It is evident also that Philo and Josephus have made use of

* Tac. hist. 3. 25: undique clamor: et orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere.

their ideas. Even the sceptic Roman, Pliny, betrayed sympathy and emotion, when he described those "weary of the world," who had in some sort conquered the sufferings of humanity, of which he was himself so sensible. How many later critics, including Ewald, have called them the noblest fruit of the old religion.* The Essenes drew to them Judaism as well as heathenism, in formally organizing a league of virtue for all religious men. This religious spirit of individuals, which equalled the morality of the best ages, and this united life of a religious society, continuing for centuries was simply unprecedented. Its external order was also so intelligent and manifold, that it quite corresponds to the monastic organizations which were formed in Christian times. Yet the bleeding chasm between flesh and spirit, the terror which recoiled from the impurity of the material world, the mechanical and involuntary action which destroyed individuality and carved out figures on one stiff and stereotyped pattern, making them, as Josephus well says, merely schoolboys beneath the rod of their master, the exclusion of any wider development, the rigid conservatism of the ancient sacred dogmas which were to remain intact,—finally and above all, the mysterious bond which held them back from the wider life of the Jewish community prove that we are here examining, not so much a new principle, springing and urging itself into the world with fresh vigour, as an effort which was, however praiseworthy, languishing and laborious in the struggle to preserve the sufferers of a decaying age by truly Jewish means.† When we examine more closely the influence of this order on the nation, it can hardly be called

* Comp. Jos. Ant. 18, 1, 5. B. J. 2, 8, 2. Phil. q. o. p. l. 878. 879. Josephus might be said to have derived his doctrine of immortality from them. B. J. 3, 8, 5, is in greater harmony with Essene than with Pharisaic doctrine. Plin. 5, 17: vita fessi. Ewald, 4, 490.

† Ant. 18, 1, 5: *ζῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν παρηλλαγμένως.* B. J. 2, 8, 4: *κατάστολή δὲ καὶ σχῆμα σώματος ὅμοιον τοῖς μετὰ φόβου παιδαγωγουμένοις παισί.* Hilgenfeld, p. 264, overlooks the main significance of the passage, since he makes its sense: simple as school-children.

important or beneficial, on a large scale, notwithstanding all its favourable effect upon individuals. Essenism was in fact only an admission of helplessness against the actual state of things, renouncing the attempt to restore all Israel, to which it was opposed, as heterodox and impure, and in this it was a breach with the living national spirit, the mysterious essence of undying power in its conception of unity and solidarity, and it was an act of despair, and a beginning of dissolution. In short the salvation of individuals in the general shipwreck is frankly the watchword of the party. We hear nothing from them of a cry for the kingdom of God, nor for the Messiah, since these were enclosed within their own limits. It left the nation to rush to its destruction, and when the end came, and they had been mingled by persecution with the Zealots in order to save Zion, they chose to prolong their days in the deserts by the Dead Sea after the fall of Zion, where Essenism might indeed send forth fresh blossoms, as if its life were not affected by the national destruction.*

* "The kingdom of heaven was undoubtedly first proclaimed by the Essenes." (Grätz, p. 470.) This statement is wholly without foundation, as well as the opinion of Staüdlin, Kninöl, Verturini, and recently Mangold and Langen, p. 457, that they expected a Messiah, one who should suffer, according to Staüdlin and Kuinöl (favouring the Baptist and Jesus). There is no trace of all this: Grätz can at most surmise it in the prophets and Messiahists at the time of the fall of the Essenes. Philastrius, haer. 9, (the Essenes expect a man as Messiah,) is an obscure and doubtful source. Those Essenes who were converted to Christianity first had the Messiah. We scarcely find any Essene utterances of the kingdom and the Messiah, and the fact is intelligible, since, in spite of the prophets, they did not, in their sectarian complacency, anticipate a national deliverance. The Essenes in war, B. J. 2, 8, 10. 2, 20, 4. 3, 2, 1. John the Essene appears as general in the beginning of the war. B. J. 2, 20, 4. 3, 2, 1. Increase of the asceties, who ate no flesh, and lived in the deserts, after the destruction, Tosifta Sota. 15. in Herzfeld, 3, 384. Essenes still flourishing in the time of Hegesippus (Eus. 4, 22) and of Justin (comp. Tryph. 80), indeed Hippol. philos. 9, 18-27. Christianity also displays Essene elements. Comp. in addition to traces in the Gospels (s. inf. John, Jesus) and the Revelation, Acts iv. 34. Rom. xiv. 2. Coloss. ii. 18. James i. 17, 19, 26, 27. ii. 1. iii. 6, v. 12. James in the legend, Eus. 2, 23, Matt. p. 67. Finally, the admission of Eus. and Jerome, that the truly apostolic life of the monks, as well as the original church of Jerusalem in the Acts, may be traced in the lives of the Essenes and Therapeutæ of Philo's time.

In this manner Essenism is a proof, how much force and nobility was still to be found in the decaying humanity of the præ-Christian era, and how much spiritual material it might contribute to the new principle that was destined really to bring healing to the world: but we may learn from its weakness that the healing power which arose upon the nation, and indeed upon the world, with fresh creative fruitfulness cannot be counted among the impulses and forces of Essenism.

END OF VOL. I.

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